Simy R.R

THE FORUM.

VOL. XXXI, NO. 3.

MAY, 1901.

NEW YORK:

THE FORUM PUBLISHING COMPANY.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COPYRIGHT, 1900.
BY THE FORUM PUBLISHING COMPANY.

PRESS OF
THE PUBLISHERS' PRINTING COMPANY
32-34 LAFAYETTE PLACE
NEW YORK

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Forum

MAY, 1901.

AGUINALDO'S CAPTURE AND THE PHILIPPINE COMMISSION.

In the short lives of some things, last month must be reckoned as antiquity. And thus, at the beginning of May the most vulgar terms of abuse as well as the most extravagant terms of praise which, at the end of March and the beginning of April, were commonly applied to Gen. Funston's exploit may seem to belong to a rather remote past. I should like to be able to say that such extravagances will be forgotten altogether; but the historic interest of the event itself will certainly preserve its attendant circumstances. Future generations will surely know that in the hot discussion which arose on receipt of the news in this country, such epithets as "spy," "sneak," "disgrace to the United States," and "forger" were answered by unqualified endorsements, and the assertion that this enterprise "was distinctively American, and worthy of the *best traditions* of our army."

These undeserving things, then — the dead forms of intemperate censure and of intemperate praise — I suppose must always be remembered; but my sole purpose in referring to them at present is to show how far away from the main issue we strayed, blinded and misguided by the passion of the moment or by partisanship. For, while the discussion was virtually confined to the question whether Gen. Funston's course had been admirable or the contrary, a fact of very high importance was ignored. Indeed, it was by implication denied, and hitherto the denial has been allowed to pass unchallenged. It was either taken for granted that this successful stroke in eastern Luzon was an outcome of the un-

Permission to republish articles is reserved.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

aided work of the army, or that disputable claim was advanced positively, in so many words. For example, the leading editorial in "The Army and Navy Journal" of March 30th contained the following passage, which is extraordinary enough in one sense, and yet can be cited as a representative statement:

"If Congress in the session of 1899–1900 had taken the advice of 'The Army and Navy Journal' and had done then what it did last winter, the same speedy end of Aguinaldo's pretensions would doubtless have come that has followed so quickly the passage of the Army bill. When this bill became a law at the request of officers doing duty in the Philippines a synopsis of it was cabled to Manila by the editor, and the officers and men of our army, as well as the intelligent natives, knew in a few days that the dilly-dallying military methods of the United States had given place to a policy in which there would be no turning back. No clearer, more decisive vindication of the judgment of those who have been called 'imperialists,' because they saw and were not afraid to speak of the army's needs, could be desired than this triumph of the new army. . . . Again is our oft-stated proposition that a large army is a powerful agency for peace proved true by the hard logic of facts. *Those humanitarians and philosophers* that will unctuously profess to find special pleasure in the prospect of early peace in the Philippines *will now see that they have to thank not the professional peace-lovers, but the hard-headed wearers of uniforms who knew they could end their task if they had the means.*"

One of the men who began early in 1899, whenever he had opportunity, to "speak [or write] of the army's needs," and to urge the Administration to place an adequate force at Gen. Otis's disposal — though he is far from admitting that he has earned the name of "imperialist" by so doing — would now respectfully submit that the members of the Civil Commission, known as the Taft Commission, who are by profession judges or teachers, may properly be characterized as "professional peace-lovers"; and it is his aim, in the present article, to suggest that to precisely these civilians our thanks are due in large measure, with grateful recognition of their work as "a powerful agency for peace." Give due honor to our gallant army in this matter, but not "*All* honor!" as the cry has been; for it may become clear that the capture of the little president whom Americans have made famous, and similar events which appear to show that the Tagalog organization is going to pieces, cannot be placed to the sole credit of the "hard-headed wearers of uniforms."

Think how many problems of a similar nature the future may have in store for us as a nation. The conclusion that they either can be or should be disposed of by the military arm alone is not only contrary to the evidence, but is also likely to prove a most pernicious error, if the general public comes to accept it. Think, too, of the extraordinary obligation in this particular case. Our honor is to such an extent engaged for the correct understanding of such a matter involving the general

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

principle by which we should be guided in our dealings with Filipinos, that he who sins against wisdom here does indeed wrong his own soul.

The readers of THE FORUM may recall a rather vague, though decidedly alarming, rumor which was caught up by the daily papers in November of last year, to the effect that years of warfare would be required to subdue the Filipinos. This was shortly after the publication of Gen. MacArthur's report dated at Manila, October 1, 1900. They may also remember that, among the many sensational statements touching the fortunes of our troops in the Philippines, this disquieting rumor stood out with a peculiar distinction; being coupled, at least ostensibly, with an admission of the failure of the general plan of campaign instituted by Gen. Otis and greatly extended by Gen. MacArthur. That plan was to be abandoned, partially, the correspondents said, sounding a new note of discouragement. Their assertions, however, were contradicted so energetically at the time, on such excellent authority — which had excellent arrangements, too, for the circulation of its own rose-colored views, and a somewhat rough-and-ready method of suppressing the views not to be reconciled with its own — that, in fine, they failed to make a very deep impression on the mind of the public. The public practically declared, by its attitude of indifference, that it believed this to be a case of much smoke from a small fire.

Quite the opposite assumption would have come nearer the mark; or, in terms of the figure already employed, there was a big threatening fire with comparatively little smoke. The actual situation, undisclosed by the current accounts, probably became known outside official circles only to those who, with patience to investigate, had access also to private sources of information. It appears that there really was profound discouragement in certain quarters, though it was not equally shared by the American officers stationed in the various islands. No single individual, it is safe to say, can yet generalize the entire situation throughout the Philippine archipelago, so different were the conditions at different points; still we already know how the military problem was regarded by the most intelligent of our commanders in the Philippines before the Taft Commission got down to hard work. We know that such able men as the negotiator of the Sulu treaty saw no way out of the difficulties — short of ten years' fighting, with the forces on the ground, or five years,' with an army one hundred thousand strong — until the civil commission both showed a way and took the lead in it.

This is very far from equivalent to an accusation that the army had failed. On the contrary, the army had added petty victory to petty

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

victory, making an almost unbroken series of successes, with barely a check now and again to relieve the monotony of foregone conclusions. It is, however, one way of saying that the army had done enough, or more than enough — more than the military arm should be called upon to perform in such situations. The time had come for the civil hand to grasp the nettle.

Now, if we take up Gen. MacArthur's report already referred to, which was prepared during this crisis, we shall see that even his more or less guarded and circumspect statements lead into a *cul-de-sac*.

He begins with the council of war held at Bayambang, about November 12, 1899, which was attended by Gen. Aguinaldo and many of the Filipino military leaders. A resolution was adopted, at that meeting, "to the effect that the insurgent forces were incapable of further resistance in the field, and as a consequence, it was decided to disband the army, the generals and men to return to their own provinces, with a view to organizing the people for general resistance by means of guerilla warfare." A little later he tells us that the Filipinos "seem to be actuated by the idea that, in all doubtful matters of politics or war, men are never nearer right than when going with their own kith and kin, regardless of the nature of the action or of its remote consequences." So, then, those not actually in the field were, by a blind, unreasoning instinct, impelled to aid the fighting men. And we read further:

"Most of the towns secretly organized complete insurgent municipal governments, to proceed simultaneously and in the same sphere as the American governments, and in many instances through the same personnel; that is to say, the *presidentes* and town officials acted openly in behalf of the Americans and secretly in behalf of the insurgents, . . . exacting and collecting contributions and supplies and recruiting men for the Filipino forces, and sending all obtainable military information to the Filipino leaders."

Invincible opposition, is it not? As for the cause of it, listen to this indefinite statement: "Nature, which is exuberant, balmy, and generous, has nourished into existence several millions of sensitive and credulous people, without allegiance to any existing institutions, but animated by certain inchoate ideas and aspirations, which by some unfortunate perversion of thought they conceive to be threatened by America." Note this utter failure to grasp the very distinct, clearly defined grievances that led to the popular uprising against the Spaniards, in which we interposed. Is not the military force which deals only with the evidences of discontent comparable to the physician who ignores morbid conditions and treats symptoms? Gen. MacArthur expresses the hope that the towns will gradually give up their devotion to the cause, and can suggest

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

no better course for himself and his perplexed officers and men than "maintaining the present status and waiting for the silent, but irresistible operation of time, which, reduced to a working formula, means amiability, patience, and — an adequate force." After reviewing all the conditions, he expresses the opinion that "at present and for many years to come the necessity of a large American military and naval force is too apparent to admit of discussion."

Does it not appear from all this that any one who looked to the army as the sole agency for the establishment of peace was fairly shut in to a prospect of the dreariest sort? Some of the commanding officers who had been in the habit of asking, when they met: "How long will it take us to put down the insurrection?" began to change the question, we are told, so that now it took the form: "Shall we *ever* be able to bring this thing to an end?"

Now let us turn to another powerful agency making for peace, not incidentally, but directly.

On the first of September, or a month prior to the date of Gen. MacArthur's report, the Taft Commission began its legislative and executive duties, under the instructions of the President. According to its own statement, at the outset "it adopted the policy of passing no laws, except in cases of emergency, without publishing them in the daily press after they had passed a second reading, and *giving to the public an opportunity to come before the Commission and suggest objections or amendments to the bills.*" A difference in the manner, in the attitude, of this body, contrasting with the army's attitude, is perceived as soon as one takes up its accounts of plans and achievements. "We think that the holding of public sessions furnishes instructive lessons to the people, *as it certainly secures to the Commission a means of avoiding mistakes.*" Thus these professional peace-lovers refer to their friendly method of getting upon common ground with the natives. When they have prepared a tariff bill, as mentioned in their report of November 30th, modifying the Spanish tariff, and arranging the schedule so as to secure an adequate revenue with the least burden upon those least able to stand it, this measure "will not be adopted until all the interests in Manila and the island shall have had an opportunity to be heard on its various provisions."

Again, we find the Taft Commission attacking the all-important question of the Philippine friars; reasoning that "those who are charged with the duty of pacifying these islands may properly have the liveliest concern in a matter which, though on its surface only ecclesiastical, is, in the most important phase of it, political, and fraught with the most crit-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ical consequences to the peace and good order of the country in which it is their duty to set up civil government." They are but recognizing a sufficiently obvious fact when they say that "the burning political question, discussion of which strongly agitates the people of the Philippines, is whether the members of the four great orders of St. Dominic, St. Augustine, St. Francis, and the Recolletos shall return to the parishes from which they were driven by the revolution." Positive originality is shown, however, in the thoroughness of the investigation they conduct; and, finally, we have a clear-cut plan suggested, in view of the enmity which would be caused among the people against the American Government by the return of the friars:

"It would avoid some very troublesome agrarian disturbances between the friars and their quondam tenants, if the insular government could buy these large *haciendas* of the friars and sell them out in small holdings to the present tenants, who, forgiven for the rent due during the two years of war, would recognize the title of the Government without demur, and gladly accept an opportunity, by payment of the price in small instalments, to become absolute owners of that which they and their ancestors have so long cultivated. With the many other calls upon the insular treasury, a large financial operation like this could probably not be conducted to a successful issue without the aid of the United States Government, either by a direct loan or by a guarantee of bonds to be issued for the purpose. The bonds or loan could be met gradually from the revenues of the islands, while the proceeds of the land, which would sell readily, could be used to constitute a school fund. This object, if declared, would make the plan most popular, because the desire for education by the Filipinos of all tribes is very strong."

Whatever else we may say about this plan, no one can deny that it is most cleverly designed to detach from the opposition all those whom the friars' oppression and extortion had driven into revolt.

Nor will any student of this question overlook the Commission's wise policy in extending marked encouragement to the Federal party. The rapid growth of this organization since November promises to relieve the insular government of a difficult task, in supplying a counterpoise for the extremely hostile Katipunan society. At the beginning of 1901 the Commission was able to say that a strong peace party was organized, with the definite purpose of securing civil government "under the United States." The precise language of a despatch dated January 2 is worth recalling. Members of this peace party, it is stated, "reasonably expect civil government and relief for inevitable but annoying restraints of military rule. . . . Time near at hand, in our opinion, when disturbances existing can better be suppressed by native police of a civil government, with army as auxiliary force, than by continuance of complete military control."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Perhaps enough has been said to indicate the practical spirit with which such a body of civilians may enter upon their appointed work, accomplishing many things which could never be effected by force. It is self-evident, also, that such labors hold out the promise of the establishment of peace in the islands on a firmer basis, for the simple reason that it is founded in equity, as distinguished from the strict application of the law, in friendly concessions, and in conciliation. It would be easy to show Judge Taft and his associates taking up the principal grievances, one by one, and gaining the good will of the natives by efforts made in consultation with them for the removal of such long-standing causes of complaint; winning their confidence by freely admitting them to the deliberations of the Commission, "to suggest objections or amendments." But it is more in point to speak of their success in securing the allegiance of many towns for the American Government — a policy having the immediate effect of depriving the native forces of their chief support.

The coöperation of the natives, thus brought into play, made itself felt in two main directions: (1) it was the most important factor in bringing about captures and surrenders of firearms during January and February; and (2) it insured the cordial reception of the Commissioners at provincial capitals. The latter result is to be ascribed to the zeal of the Commission's *protégé*, the new Federal party, which has spread rapidly in all parts of the archipelago, "and is active and urgent in its advocacy of peace and in presenting the advantage of civil liberty under American sovereignty." During February the Commission organized five provincial governments — in Pampanga, Pangasinan, Tarlac, Bulacan and Bataan — everywhere receiving the enthusiastic support of local Federalists, and having the benefit of their assistance in the attempt to prove that new privileges of great value were being offered, and to explain the difference between military and civil government. There seems to be no doubt that the desired impression was very generally made, in Luzon, in the Visayan group and also in Mindanao, which were visited in March; the Commission establishing in each province such a form of government as seemed to be adapted to the intelligence of its inhabitants, with the understanding that some of the governments installed were to be superseded by better systems, in due time. We are told that numerous reports were received from distant garrisons, conveying expressions of the confidence which the natives were beginning to feel in the Americans, and congratulations on the work of the Commission. A correspondent cabled on April 1 that Geronimo, formerly an insurgent commander, in explanation of the increasing confidence felt by the people with respect to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the purposes of the Americans, asserted that "this has been caused by the action of the Philippine Commission." He declared that "wherever the Federal party plants the American banner, there the insurrection ends."

In the light of these facts; in view of the natives' deplorable misconception of the true character of our "hard-headed wearers of uniforms" — the best soldiers in the world, I think, but, by the same token, not the best diplomats; and in view of the revulsion of feeling which the pacific and tactful measures of the Taft Commission seem to have produced, let us read again the recent long lists of surrenders, overtures to surrender, and captures. Would these cheering events have been crowded together into a few weeks, or would they, rather, have been scattered through a period of years — the distressing "years of warfare" with which we were threatened last autumn — if the distinctive work of the Civil Commission had been less wisely planned? It is beyond dispute that the chief credit for some of the surrenders belongs to the Commission and its native sympathizers; even to the most interesting capture it would appear that they must have contributed in a minor degree.

The facts are not yet at hand which will enable us to form a definite opinion upon this subject, but we may note the bearing of circumstances mentioned in the official and press despatches already published. One of Aguinaldo's staff permitted important letters to fall into Gen. Funston's hands; Tagalog officers were available for service — for this particular service — against their former chief; the way lay open and unguarded for a six-days' march upon Aguinaldo's camp. There was a different story to tell when the chase led through the highlands of the northwestern provinces at the beginning of 1900, before the bitterness of resistance had been drawn off and the Filipino organization itself undermined so diplomatically.

I may be allowed a final suggestion in connection with the fact of very high importance referred to at the outset, the fact, namely, that a Civil Commission may be looked to for such achievements as those which I have briefly indicated, — for such man's work and practical peace-lover's work in countries harassed by war. The suggestion is, that in future, when such grave and complex problems shall present themselves, a leading rôle shall be assigned to able civilians representing the Government and coöperating with the army on the ground. There should be more reliance upon tactful conciliation and less upon coercion — and this from the very outset — to the end that wars may be shortened.

MARRION WILCOX.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE RUSSIANS IN MANCHURIA.

In writing these pages I have no intention of discussing the political question concerning Manchuria. I merely think that, once an armed conflict in the East is on the verge of breaking out on account of Manchuria, it is well worth knowing what Manchuria is, why the Russian Government tries to establish its rule over this portion of the Chinese Empire, what are its real interests there apart from a mere desire of increase of territory, and, consequently, to what length of sacrifice it may be ready to go in supporting its claims. As one of the pioneers of the Russian advance in Manchuria, and as a geographer whose speciality for the last thirty years has been to deal with these portions of Asia, I am going to answer these questions.

Speaking for myself, I regard it as one of the greatest misfortunes of the Russian nation that the Caucasus, the Trans-Caspian territory and Turkestan were ever annexed to Russia, and, still more, that the Russians entered, in 1856, the basin of the Amur, and took possession of the North Manchurian coast of the Pacific Ocean. Of course, there was quite a chain of historical circumstances which brought about this result; nevertheless, I cannot but regret that this annexation took place. With respect more particularly to the annexation of the Amur, which was accomplished in 1856–1859, immediately after the Crimean War, when the attack by the British on the Russian settlements on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk and in Kamchatka resulted in a fear lest England would take possession of the Pacific coast of Manchuria — the Russian nation would have lost nothing, and would have won a good deal, if Count Muravioff-Amurskiy had *not* taken possession of the uninhabited wildernesses on the left bank of the Amur, and up the Usuri, down to Vladivostok.

No matter which nation — England, the United States, Germany, or Japan — might have taken hold of this portion of the Pacific littoral, the great bulk of the Russian nation would have been spared the considerable sacrifices which they have made for colonizing the wildernesses of the Amur. With the extent of these sacrifices I am acquainted, as I

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

saw them. Further, Siberia would only have been the winner from having at her Southern border a civilized nation, instead of the semi-wild Mongols, Solons, Daurs, and the like whom she has now — just as Canada is gaining immensely by having the United States for a neighbor. As to the military defence of the frontier, the Amur frontier and the Pacific ports of Russia are infinitely more difficult to protect than the frontier of Trans-Baikalia.

Statesmen of all nations will probably disagree with this "popular," but not "national," view of the matter. They have already pronounced that Muravioff's annexation of the Amur and his "taking for Russia a strong footing on the Pacific" were acts of wise statesmanship and of deep political foresight. But, then, geography also has its rights; and, as a geographer, I am bound to say that the power which holds the mostly uninhabitable left bank of the Amur and the absolutely uninhabitable portion of the Pacific coast between the mouth of the Amur and the Bay of Peter the Great (Vladivostok) must be naturally and forcibly driven to find the method of connecting Vladivostok with its Trans-Baikalian possessions by means of a direct line of communication, via Manchuria; because without such a connection Vladivostok and Port Arthur are worse than worthless. And, in order to establish that connection, Russia has to establish her power over a very large territory, her possession of which will be disputed and which, even if it be annexed to Russia, belongs to a different race, and never will be truly Russian.

The first steps of the Russians in Manchuria were made in 1864; and it so happened that the writer of these lines was among those who made them. However, the initiative of these first steps came, not from the Government, but from a number of Trans-Baikalian Cossacks.

Trade, not conquest, was its origin. Immense numbers of horses are bred by the Cossacks on the plains of the southeastern corner of Trans-Baikalia, and there is no market for them. The Cossacks knew that the middle Amur would be a good market for their horses; and they had learned from the Mongols that if one should go straight to the east, across Northern Manchuria, one would easily reach the middle Amur after a journey of 500 miles; while if the journey should be made on Russian territory, down the Argun and the Amur, it would require first an extremely difficult voyage on rafts for 500 miles down the rapids of the Argun River, and next 50 miles on boats, down the Amur. They consequently asked permission of the Governor-General to go across Manchuria, and only requested to have somebody who might help them in finding a route across the Great Khingan mountains. A topogra-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pher had taken, a few years before, that same route, but he was killed by the natives. I was offered to take the lead of the small trading caravans of Cossacks; and so we went, twelve unarmed men — I was disguised as a merchant, — starting from the very point where the Trans-Manchurian Railway now crosses the Russian frontier.

We found the road, reached without difficulty the insignificant town of Merghen, and next came to Aihun (the scene of the latest battles) and to Blagovyeschensk, on the Amur, where all our horses and goods were sold at a profit. I hurried next to rejoin my commander, the Governor-General of Siberia, at the mouth of the Amur. He was delighted with the success of our adventure; and, partly under the influence of us, the younger people, he suddenly decided to send the same autumn a steamer up the great river of Manchuria, the Sungari, which had never before been navigated by a steamer, and which was quite unknown to Europeans. Colonel Tchernyaeff was placed at the head of this little expedition, to which the Russian Consul at Urga, M. Shishmareff, a doctor, M. Conradi, an astronomer, M. Usoltseff, two topographers, and myself belonged. The aim of the expedition was simply to explore the Sungari, and, if we should succeed in reaching Ghirin (or Kirin), the capital of one of the three provinces of Manchuria, to enter into direct communication with the Governor-General. We reached Ghirin, and returned home the same autumn, after having found that the great Manchurian river was navigable as far as Ghirin, situated at its head-waters.

Immense stretches of a high, cold, and marshy plateau; wide, sandy, and waterless plains on the middle Sungari, similar to those of the Eastern Gobi, and also inhabited by nomad Mongols only; great expanses of marshy lowlands on the lower Sungari, inundated during the period of the monsoon-rains; poverty and a hard struggle against an inclement nature; a thin population scattered along the rivers, in the deep valleys separated from each other by mountains thickly clothed with wood, in the Ghirin province — these are what we saw during those two journeys. Only a few fertile plains, one about Tsitsikar, on the Nonni River, and another between Merghen and Aihun, relieve the generally poor aspect of the territory. This is, in a few words, the general character of more than two-thirds of Manchuria. As to its northern portion, there are surely not so many as 1,000 hunting Tunguses and lumbermen scattered over the whole of the territory to the north of my Merghen route, *i.e.*, roughly speaking, to the north of the fifty-first degree of latitude. This first impression of the country has been fully confirmed since by recent exploration. All Manchuria is now perfectly

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

well known; and it appears from Dr. Pozdnéeff's estimates, which are quite correct, that while Manchuria covers 375,000 square miles, *i.e.*, very little less than France and the German Empire taken together, its population, including the recent Chinese immigration, does not exceed 7,500,000 inhabitants. And even this population is chiefly concentrated in the south, on the Lao-ho River, in the vicinity of the Gulf of Lao-tong; the population of the Mukden province being 4,250,000, while the remaining 3,250,000 are scattered over the two other immense provinces of Manchuria — Ghirin and Tsitsikar (Hei-lung-tsian).

None of us could think at that time that Russia would ever try to establish her rule over Manchuria. The immense uninhabited stretches of high plateau land in the north are absolutely unavailable for agriculture; while the fertile and cultivable portions of Manchuria are already occupied by Chinese and Manchus, among whom Russian emigrants could never take a footing. As to the excellent forests of Manchuria, or its gold, coal and lead mines, Siberia is replete with mineral wealth of all sorts, which is not exploited simply from want of enterprise and knowledge, while the forests on the Amur are but slightly inferior to those of Manchuria. The lines of geological structure going from the southwest to the northeast, Russia has already within her dominions the very same plateaus and mountains which cover Manchuria. Why, then, should Russia try to take hold of Manchuria, and thus impose upon herself new and formidable sacrifices, without gaining any notable advantage in return? However, the rapid progress of the Trans-Siberian Railway, the sudden growth of Japan, and the German, Russian, and English occupation of ports in the Gulf of Pechili have entirely changed the conditions which prevailed in 1864.

Already at that time it was evident to most of us that the seizure by Muravioff of the left bank of the Amur and the Pacific littoral, down to Vladivostok, was *not* the rich acquisition which it had been said to be at the time. Muravioff's dreams of a new Russian United States growing up on the Pacific coast, and joining hands with the United States across the Pacific, could not be realized on account of the poverty of the territory he had taken possession of; and no sooner was it taken than the eyes of the new settlers were already turned farther southward. I do not speak of the fact that the Cossacks, settled along the left bank of the upper Amur, always find out that the right bank is the best, and consequently have their meadows, and occasionally their fields, on the right, or Chinese, bank, of the great Mississippi of the East. Such encroachments are of little importance.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nor do I speak of the gold mines on the slopes of the Great Khingan, in Northern Manchuria, which were worked a few years ago by all sorts of runaways, who founded on the Zheltuga River the little republic so charmingly described in 1897 by Mr. George Kennan. Certainly, there is gold in the Manchurian mountains which fringe the border of the high plateau — but exactly the same mountains, equally rich in gold, run on Russian territory as well, on the upper Zeya, and yield fabulous returns of gold. There is, however, something much more important than the local encroachments just mentioned; namely, the absence on the left (Russian) bank of the Amur of wide fertile plains which might some day become the seat of a wealthy and numerous agricultural population. The consequence is that even now, forty-five years after the annexation, wheat and oats for Russian settlers, for the military, and for the Zeya gold mines, have to be bought every year in Manchuria.

When the Amur was taken possession of, there was no end to the descriptions of its wealth and beauties. "The vine grows wild, climbing on the trees; the forests of the lower Amur are the most beautiful in the world; the prairies can give food and wealth to millions of settlers." And this was true. The vine grows wild; the prairies are splendid, when they are not inundated in August during the monsoon period; and the virgin forests are not bad, although very much inferior to those of British Columbia. But neither the virgin forests nor the periodically inundated prairies could become the abodes of a numerous agricultural population; while the fertile plains really suitable for agriculture appear to be very limited in extent.

In its upper course, the Amur flows in a narrow valley which is excavated to the depth of from 1,000 to 2,000 feet in a high and cold plateau, so that the bottom only of this valley and of the valleys of the tributaries is suitable for agriculture. On the other side, in the great curve which the Amur describes southward in order to join the Sungari and the Usuri, it flows through low, periodically inundated prairies, entirely unsuitable for agriculture; while in its lower course there is no land to till except what is cleared from under extremely thick forests. The only two fertile belts in the Russian Amur dominions are a plain 250 miles wide and some 250 miles long, in the east of Blagovyeschensk, and a plain of much smaller dimensions on the Suifun River, near Vladivostok. But even these two plains are separated from each other by a distance of about 600 miles, along the Usuri and the Amur, where only a chain of villages on the very banks of the two rivers can be maintained. If you ride ten or twenty miles away from the river,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

you find nothing but a succession of low, marshy troughs, soaked with water, and separated from one another by low, unfertile hillocks, or impenetrable marshes on the banks of the Usuri, until you reach the stony, wood-clothed mountains.

The result is that Vladivostok has no hinterland, properly speaking. It is a port thrown out on the Pacific coast, very far from the regions where a thick Russian population can ever be settled. It is more than 600 miles from the Blagovyeschensk plains, and another 1,000 miles from the plains of Trans-Baikalia; and nothing but mere strings of villages could be kept up between the Pacific port and these two possible centres of a future population. This is what "the strong footing of Russia on the Pacific" comes to in reality.

And then came the Trans-Siberian Railway, which, it was evident, could *not* be built along the Amur. So long as it was built across the prairies of Western Siberia, similar to those of Winnipeg, and farther on across the high plains, similar to the "rolling prairie" of Calgary in Canada, there were no real difficulties in its construction, except in the number of large rivers which had to be crossed, or in the absence of stone and shingle in Western Siberia. Nay, even to the east of Lake Baikal, along the valley of the Uda and across Trans-Baikalia, there were no very serious difficulties in the way until the present terminus at Sryetensk was reached. But many years ago I already wrote that I could not understand how the railway could be continued beyond Sryetensk down to the Amur, nor how it could be built on the marshy stretch where the Amur is joined by the Sungari and the Usuri, without going into simply fabulous expenses which could never be recouped. The formidable Gazimur Mountains, through which the Shilka River has pierced a narrow gorge below Sryetensk, and the 200 miles of marshy ground inundated every year by a formidable river raising its level for twenty feet in a few days during the monsoon period — these obstacles could be overcome, but at what cost?

Of course, there exist no "impossibilities" for the modern railway engineer, if only he need not reckon what every yard of the railway will cost. But — why should this expenditure be made, when it was evident that the first 800 or 1,000 miles beyond Sryetensk and the 300 miles above Khabarovsk could *never* become the seat of a numerous population? I know well the banks of the Amur, and I fully remember even now the hardships I had to endure when I had to ride along them on horseback. Consequently, as soon as the Trans-Siberian Railway was begun, I wrote in England and in the United States that it most

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

probably would never be built beyond Sryetensk. To build such a costly railway, of such a length, across a region which will never be thickly inhabited, would simply have been foolish. In fact, speaking as a geographer, I must say that the only reasonable means for connecting Lake Baikal (Irkutsk) with the Pacific would be to build the railway across Mongolia, via Kiakhta, Urga, and Peking; and that the only possible way to connect Lake Baikal with Vladivostok is evidently across Manchuria — not because these are the shortest routes, but because a railway along the banks of the Amur, via Khabarovsk, would be absurd for the reasons just indicated.

As to the Trans-Manchurian railway — speaking again as a geographer only — its direction seems to be perfectly well chosen. It avoids the terrible Gazimur Range, by passing at its southern extremity; then it runs over the lower terrace of the plateau, which represents an undulating, naturally macadamized surface of so easy access that the Cossacks and myself crossed it with our two carts without any road. Next comes the crossing of the Great Khingan escarpment, which cannot be avoided, and offers no serious difficulties. The railway next reaches the fertile and populous plains of Tsitsikar; avoids the marshy lowlands of the lower Sungari; and crosses the highest of the three parallel chains which it must cross before reaching the Pacific, at a point where this mountain is pierced by the Sungari. Broadly speaking, a better direction could hardly have been chosen. This and the fact that Chinese laborers could be found in any number are the reasons why the building of this railway progressed so rapidly before the Boxer rising — far more rapidly indeed than was known to the Western press. Moreover, the railway had thousands of customers even before it was completed. In those portions of the line which were nearly ready for temporary traffic, crowds of Chinese and Manchus came to fill up the working-cars whenever a train started.

Seeing how rapidly this railway was built before the Boxer rising, it is easy to foretell that, if no new complications arise in the East, the Transcontinental Railway will be nearly ready in a couple of years. And as this railway is going to connect the naval port of Russia on the Pacific, Vladivostok, with, so to say, the mainland of Russia — its connection with the Amur region is no connection at all, as already mentioned, — it is evident that the Russian Government will not easily abandon its claims upon the control and the possession of the railway line. Even if Port Arthur were never taken by Russia, or were abandoned by her, the Russian Government would surely do its utmost to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hold, at least, this railway across Manchuria, even at the risk of being entangled in a war.

It is not generally known, but it is a fact, that even before the Boxer rising the Russian Government was already holding this railway line in a military way. Russian papers reported, indeed, that 3,600 soldiers and Cossacks were already quartered along the line when the Boxer movement began. It is thus evident that it was already the intention of the Russian Government to establish across Manchuria something similar to the line of communication which it has maintained for nearly forty or fifty years across Mongolia. I mean the caravan route and the telegraph line from Kiakhta to Peking, via Urga. Both run over Chinese territory, but both are practically in the hands of the Russian Government. The road is a Russian road running across Chinese territory. When I mentioned this fact lately to the well-known Belgian Professor of International Law, Dr. Ernest Nys, he remarked that such communications were known in international law in the first half of the nineteenth century as "military roads." Thus, to quote but one example, Prussia kept such a road across the Rhenish provinces previously to their annexation. Something similar will probably be the outcome of the present conflict. It would be foolish, indeed, for Japan to let herself be rushed into a war for the Manchurian Railroad, as it would be foolish for Russian statesmen not to recognize that one day or another Korea will be so thickly colonized by Japanese that it will be Japanese for all practical purposes. There lies the possibility of an understanding.

And yet I cannot but repeat that the interests pursued by Russian statesmen in the East are the interests of a military state, not those of the Russian nation. If Russia should abandon all her possessions on the Pacific — with which she cannot be connected otherwise than by keeping a "military road" across a territory which will never be Russian, but is sure to be more and more colonized by Chinese — this abandonment would spare to the nation enormous sacrifices; it would avoid the possibility of war entanglements in the East; and it would only strengthen the position of Russia against any possible invasion from the East. Fully granting the possibility of a militarily reformed China rushing some day, with its millions of men, against the Aryans, in which case Russia would be the first to support the shock, it is not in the Amur region and still less in Manchuria, but in Trans-Baikalia, amidst a thoroughly Russian population, that the first stand could be made against that invasion.

P. KROPOTKIN.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BONDS OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS AS AMERICAN INVESTMENTS.

THE increase of wealth in the United States within the last decade has largely diminished foreign ownership of our corporate securities. A further result of this accumulation of capital is the placing of certain foreign government loans in the American market. These present to our investors a new kind of security, and novel problems. It may be useful to dwell upon two or three aspects of the question, from both the public and the private point of view.

First, there are the ordinary, the surface considerations. When the money lender scrutinizes a loan, the character of the borrower goes for much. His ability and prospects, his reputation for promptness, his moral character and business rating are important, as well as is the security which he offers. So it is with a state. If its credit is doubtful, the lender insists upon a specific security, like the lien upon Chinese customs. If its monetary standard is uncertain, the terms of payment will naturally specify the medium. If its good faith is doubted, a higher interest rate reflects that fact. But there are quite other questions than these, which both the investor and his government will do well to ask.

However, let us first try clearly to realize the distinction between a state in debt and an ordinary debtor. In the latter case there will be a definite security. In case of default this security may be taken by foreclosure or other process. No such right exists against a state, the nearest approach to it being in the rare cases where some specific form of revenue is pledged to the satisfaction of a particular loan or the interest due upon it. What the state gives as security for a loan is not a tangible asset, but its pledge of honor, of national reputation, of good faith.

There is a marked difference, also, between the remedies open to the two kinds of creditors, the one who lends to a foreign individual and the one who lends to a foreign state. The former can proceed single-handed against his debtor by judicial methods. A specific remedy is within his grasp. The latter, on the other hand, can only proceed diplomatically,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

through his own government. He is thus doubly helpless, — because he has nothing specific to seize for the satisfaction of an acknowledged debt, and because, to set any remedy at work, he must first interest and then employ the delicate and uncertain agencies of the state department.

In theory the remedy is simple enough. Every bond sold by a state to a foreign investor is a contract. Default in payment of principal or interest is a violation of contract. The injured party is entitled to protection from his government. By assumption of his claim that government may make the case its own. Redress being denied, the final penalty for breach of an international obligation is war, if regard for its reputation and regard for its future borrowing capacity are insufficient. But in practice the mere statement of such a remedy is enough to show its insufficiency and absurdity. As a matter of policy, it could only be thought of as against a weaker power. As a matter of common sense, the cost of the remedy is enormously out of proportion to the amount of the wrong. So, in point of fact, redress in case of default in government bonds is very problematical.

There is another fact to be borne in mind. The act of a state in pledging its faith and credit is quite on a different plane from the act of an individual or corporation doing the same thing. Accordingly when one state borrows from the subjects of another, this other state must consider what relations other than those purely financial are involved. Thus it comes that there is always a double point of view to be preserved in considering the loans of one government placed under the jurisdiction of another, namely: (1) the political point of view — that which relates to the interests of the state itself; (2) the investors' point of view — that which regards the transaction as a matter purely of private interest. This offers a convenient division of the subject, though the two aspects cannot always be kept distinct.

First, in regard to government loans politically considered. Although a state will hardly undertake to control the investments of its subjects, it can further or hinder its fellow states in their borrowing operations; and here, in truth, its interests may be quite other than those of its investors. If the British Government, for instance, should desire to build up Japan as a buffer against the advance of Russia eastward, she might naturally make easy the path of that ambitious empire as a borrower in England. Then, though the needs and vicissitudes of war might hurt the English bondholders, the political interests of Britain would be served as a makeweight. Something like this has been going on in Turkey for a generation or more.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And so, conversely, one country may influence its capitalists to refuse credit to another, because to build up its credit would be to strengthen a possible enemy. Russia places no loans in England. Her borrowing of money and her political *rapprochement* are both with France. But it is an unsolved problem whether the ability to borrow is the result of alliance, or the desire to borrow is the cause of alliance. The reasons which may influence the placing of government loans from the political point of view are exceedingly varied; and as these are the sinews of war, both industrial and military, of a possible enemy, a despotic government must be tempted to control its subjects' lendings.

At the risk of seeming fanciful, let me illustrate, by the case of Russia, the complexity of the questions which may arise. The virgin wheat lands of Siberia make Russia a potential rival of ourselves in furnishing Europe with this staple. To buy Russian bonds, then, may mean to help the development of wheat-growing in Russia, by building railroads, and to lower the net price of wheat to the western farmer, so long as he has a surplus for export. And so the completion of the Siberian railway might bring Baku oil into competition with the American illuminant throughout Manchuria, or possibly a great part of China, where we now sell large quantities.

Neither state nor individual would oppose on such grounds as this the attempt of Russia to borrow here. But go a step farther. Russia is ambitious, powerful, despotic. Hers may be the only form of government adapted to the control and civilization of the half-savage Asiatic peoples. Nevertheless, the concentration of power, the military influence, the popular ignorance, and the need of ice-free harbors for commercial growth, have made Russia the great rival and foe of Britain in several parts of the world. Shall we, as a people, be encouraged to lend to Russia? Should we not be warned that in so doing we may be hurting our best friend, at least our best customer?

Such reasoning is dictated by caution, not by hostility. On the other hand, Great Britain might encourage Sweden to borrow, because Sweden's army system is too antiquated to be effective without expensive reorganization, and because Sweden is Russia's near neighbor. That would be the result of hostility rather than caution.

Even more aggressive is the financial facility furnished by a country to the rebels of another, such as that furnished by Britain to the Confederacy, by ourselves to the Cubans, and by Holland to the Boers. In all such cases a loan by the state itself would of course be the grossest breach of neutrality: only loans from individuals are lawful; yet the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sympathies of individuals and their readiness to help a popular cause against an unpopular mother country may easily be enlisted and directed by a state's influence.

Enough has been said to show the complex character which a government bond sold abroad may assume, ranging from assistance rendered a friend to a blow dealt in the face of an enemy. Aware of the difficulty, perhaps the danger, of incurring foreign debt, the state will try to borrow at home, — sometimes by making appeals to patriotism; at other times by offering favorable conditions as to taxes; perhaps by creating an artificial demand, as for United States bonds under the national banking system, or for German bonds as a compulsory reserve if foreign insurance companies wish to do business there. The fact of borrowing abroad, then, is rather a confession of poverty and of financial weakness, and needs explanation.

We have spoken hitherto of loans floated by states of the first class, whose desire to maintain their standing can usually be relied upon to prevent default, but which, if they should default, are too powerful to be constrained in any way against their will. Loans placed by minor states, while more apt to be free from any connection with those rivalries of world politics which have been hinted at, have characteristics of their own which objectively and subjectively may present difficulties. For one thing, political weakness is almost always synonymous with financial weakness, and does not attract the calculating friend who will bolster up the state's credit for his own sake. Then, both are synonymous with political instability. The power to collect duties and taxes goes before the ability to pay interest; but no one willingly pays taxes to a doubtful sovereign or government, so that an uncertain sovereignty means an uncertain debtor. Where revolutions are frequent and constitutions less influential than popular passion, we do not expect to find credit or to give it.

But as the United States grows in wealth and power, there may be a temptation to use both in advancing its claims to primacy on this continent. In such case the loan to the weak power means a club to threaten with or control with, for we must protect our subjects' interests. So Russia holds Persia in her grip. This view of the matter opens up to an unwholesome imagination a long vista of hypothetical interventions, intrigues, combinations, and collisions. We have had some experience already in pressing private claims against certain American republics. The European fashion is to speak with the mouth of cannon. If we lose patience and try this summary way of collecting our citizens'

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

credits, we shall have to consider the effect on our trade and the effect on our character. Both will suffer from a tendency to bully. Yet if we do not bully, but rather negotiate endlessly and arbitrate, it is to be feared that we shall get but little at the end of the road. Turkey knows, and has shown us, the new way of paying old debts.

However, it is not so much questions of political expediency and policy that I wish to discuss, as the interests of the average investor, in whose hands the promoter finally expects to leave his bond issue.

In placing the bonds of a foreign government, the convincing argument is that no state can afford to default, because it must needs borrow again. It is also true that, even in case of war with the creditor state, it cannot legally, and probably will not, confiscate its bonds, held by enemy subjects, as a war measure. There is, of course, much force in this view, though it has not always proved a sufficient deterrent. But it is not so much a question of default in interest as of stability of principal. A state's bonds fluctuate with its financial condition, and also with its political situation. No investor desires a drop in the value of his securities. If he buys the obligations of a foreign state, he will naturally study all the factors which are likely to affect their value. If the state in question is ambitious, aggressive, a military power, it is more likely to get into difficulties than an unambitious one. War will diminish the balance available for interest; it may cost part of the creditor's security, as happened to Spain in the loss of Cuba; in any case, the price of its bonds goes down. Even British consols have met with a considerable drop since the Boer war broke out. The various bond issues of a state have no settled priority other than the power of one set of creditors to collect sooner and more effectively than another set. Therefore, the other obligations of the borrower should be scrutinized. Here politics must enter. If Russia should press Turkey for payment of the indemnity set at San Stefano, the regular creditors might fare hardly.

The stability of the government is another matter for the investor to consider. In Great Britain, king succeeds queen without a financial tremor. But take the case of Mexico, where Diaz has proved a blessing, though a dictator. He has given his country a beneficial despotism. He is a man of over seventy. What will come after him, when the strong hand is relaxed, the Latin temperament finds expression, and the forces of liberalism and clericalism war together again? We watch the declining years of the Emperor of Austria, truly a father to his restless peoples, wondering what will come after him. We argue that Russia

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cannot always escape the liberalizing movement which has left its mark upon other European states, and that, when liberalism does break loose, like a disease long repressed and striking inwards, the body politic will be racked and shaken mightily for the long suppression.

The feature of possible commercial rivalry already mentioned has its financial as well as its political side. If the manufacturers of this country see in Germany their most dangerous competitor, and anticipate from her government those checks upon trade which our tariff system has for so long invited, they certainly will not build up a rival's credit by buying its bonds. Industrial war, like any other kind of war, saps the credit of the power making it. One of the dangers involved in introducing China to civilization is the possibility that the patient, imitative, astute Chinese may undersell the world, when they shall have mastered the modern processes of production. Modern politics seems to have been resolved into a hunt for markets. But as the buyer follows his sympathies and prejudices, as well as his judgment, much more is needed to command success than the cheapness of a commodity or the door open to receive it.

These, then, are the major factors which the investor will consider before he lends to a state: the stability of its form of government; the probability of war; the likelihood of commercial conflict and rivalry. There are also minor factors. The rate of taxation will show whether additional burdens can easily be borne. The amount of outstanding indebtedness shows whether credit has already been freely used. A sinking-fund provision in non-progressive countries is a somewhat necessary insurance of ability to repay. The burden of militarism is a millstone about the neck of a state, which the investor will not lightly disregard. Since Italy joined the Dreibund, embarked upon colonial adventure in Africa, and made her army equal to the part she wished to play, her financial condition has suffered. And, lastly, the general impression which a people makes, of progressiveness or decadence, of having a future or merely of having a past, will be taken account of. Such questions as these, remote and complex though they may seem, are really but the equivalent of those which one asks as a matter of course in buying a railroad bond, for instance: the debt per mile; the surplus over operation for interest; the danger of competition; the rate per mile; and the character of the management.

There is an unpleasant point of resemblance between the two classes of bondholders just referred to, namely, in the helplessness of the minority holder, if default comes. The small investor has not enough at

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stake to warrant the expense of a lawsuit; he has to take the crumbs which the reorganizer lets fall. So, too, the widow and the orphan, who have invested their all in Argentines or Peruvians, can hardly expect to interest a government in their behalf, and set the machinery of diplomacy at work. In both cases the right of protection is a legal question; the fact of protection, a question of policy; and the two are wide apart.

And now a few words in application of these rather dim and fragmentary principles. We are not yet so deeply committed that we cannot look at the subject dispassionately. And yet we have made a beginning. Somewhat recently there have been placed in this country loans of Germany, Great Britain, Sweden and Russia, all states with good credit. How are these and similar investments to be regarded?

If one believes that an irreconcilable clashing of interests will eventually bring Russia and Great Britain into conflict, it is certainly unwise to loan to both; one should refuse both, or else pick the one whose success would, on the whole, make for civilization and progress and our own trade expansion. If experience teaches anything, it is that certain of the Central and South American republics are unstable, and that collection from them is difficult. Therefore, one's risks in that quarter should be limited. The bonds of Sweden, an unambitious state, should be unquestionably good; the only cloud upon them being its possible separation from Norway, which would weaken the political position of both countries, and expose Sweden to Russian aggressiveness. Here Finland points a moral. In case of Russian control, however, the credit of Swedish bonds would be maintained; for, by international law, if one country takes over another it must take it subject to its liens. The bonds of Germany should be good also, but a trifle less attractive because of its exposed position between France and Russia, because of its heavy military burden (a drawback to the financial ability of France, Russia, and Italy likewise), and because of the possibility of commercial war with the United States.

A final remark is perhaps worth making. By their right of taxing their debt or interest thereon, foreign states have retained over their bonds held abroad a power, which might destroy values. This right should be surrendered before a loan is considered. If, in the future, states incline toward tariff rather than military wars, as is possible, we must expect a decided increase of, and ingenuity in, the forms of duty, coupled with any other method of taxation calculated to make the other party smart.

THEODORE S. WOOLSEY.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE LIGHTING OF RAILWAY CARS.

In the well-appointed passenger trains of to-day, travelling is a pleasure as compared with the tedious journeys of a few decades since. The railways are on the alert to meet the requirements of a discriminating public, not only caring for their safe and prompt transportation, but also catering to their demands for comfort and even luxury. A large part of travel must be done during hours of artificial lighting, especially by business men, who constitute the majority of passengers, and who wish to do their travelling as much as possible outside business hours. The problem of securing satisfactory light in the cars is therefore one of considerable importance.

In the early days, when people were accustomed to the light of flickering candles, no better light was desired on trains. At first the trips were short and were made only during the daylight hours. The first artificial lighting of railway cars began nearly three-quarters of a century ago, passengers sometimes furnishing their own candles or oil lamps on long journeys. Candles, furnished by the company and placed in convenient pockets, were gradually displaced by lamps burning animal, vegetable, or mineral oils. The oil lamp was developed until it gave quite a respectable light, although accompanied by disagreeable and expensive features, and the suspicion that fires in connection with wrecks were aggravated, if not caused, by oil lamps quite as often as by stoves.

As early as 1856, experiments were made on the Chicago and Galena Railway with the use of compressed city gas for car lighting. Coal gas loses much of its illuminating power when compressed, and has therefore been practically abandoned for train use. In 1867, Julius Pintsch, of Berlin, began experimenting with various gases, and found that gas made by heating oil to a high temperature would stand compression with little loss of illuminating power. He succeeded in building up a business of great magnitude. During the last few years, acetylene gas made from calcium carbide, a product of the electric furnace, has been applied to car lighting with more or less success. Incandescent electric lamps were first used for train lighting in 1881, and are now used in many of the best trains in all countries.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Each of the old methods of car lighting has certain features which are objectionable to the travelling public, to railway men, or to both. The first requirement in any satisfactory method is safety. The devices for burning oil and gas have been brought to a high stage of progress. Yet, with any illuminant requiring a flame, there is at least a possibility of fire risk. In the case of gas, there is the added possibility that pipes may become broken and allow the gas to escape and mingle with the air, until an explosive mixture is formed. The results of the explosion of such a mixture would not be pleasant to contemplate.

The worst features of oil and gas are the products of combustion. Oil and gas lights not only cause a large amount of heat, which adds to the discomfort of summer travel, but they use up the oxygen of the air faster than do the passengers. The products of combustion are generally carbonic acid gas, water vapor, and heat. When the lights do not burn properly, they may give off more or less of a poisonous gas known as carbon monoxide. The presence of the carbonic acid gas and of the water vapor has a tendency to make a person feel drowsy and dull. The water vapor adds to the discomfort by reducing the evaporation from the skin. A large part of the waste from the body is eliminated through the skin by insensible perspiration, the evaporation of which cools the body. As the air becomes saturated with water vapor, evaporation from the body diminishes, and one soon becomes hot, drowsy, and uncomfortable. The principal function of the fan is not so much to cool the air as to blow fresh air upon a person, and so increase the evaporation from the body, and thereby indirectly cool it. The electric fan in dining and parlor cars is a grateful luxury as it causes the air to circulate, even though it be warm, and thus continually brings near the skin air that is less fully saturated with moisture.

The degree of emphasis to be placed upon this consideration may be inferred from a few figures. For illuminating various kinds of American passenger cars, the light varies from the equivalent of that given by about forty candles to that given by 1,200 or 1,500 candles. The ordinary car has an illumination equal to that of about 170 candles. The consumption of oxygen and the products of combustion in the lamps giving that amount of light may be compared directly with the presence of a number of passengers; the candles being equal to about 115 adults, oil lamps being equal to about eighty adults, and gas being equal probably to about twenty-five adults. The above comparison makes no allowance for the additional discomfort of dirty lamps, which smoke and smell.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A great objection to the oil lamp is its liability to smoke; and another is its liability to leak oil on the carpets and upon the clothes or baggage of passengers. It was stated, several years ago, that it was costing the Pullman Company about $200,000 annually to replace carpets and other furnishings injured by oil lamps; no record being available, however, of the damage to the property of passengers.

When the incandescent electric lamp approached a commercial form, in 1879, its advantages were quickly recognized. Experiments looking toward its use on railway cars were begun almost before the first central station for stationary lighting was in operation. In spite of the frailties of the early lamp and the limited sources of electricity then available, the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway in England began in November, 1881, to operate electrically lighted trains, and has continued this method of illumination until the present time, making improvements from time to time as experience dictated. Soon after this trial began, other roads, in nearly every country, followed; and to-day the number of cars lighted by electricity runs up into the tens of thousands, not counting the myriads of trolley cars, which are lighted and propelled from the same source of power. A history of the development of electric lighting for railway cars would make an interesting study for railway officials and others who desire to keep fully posted in this branch of electrical work.

As is generally known, the light of an incandescent electric lamp comes from a slender carbon filament in a vacuum maintained within a closed glass bulb; this filament being heated to a high temperature by an electric current. So little heat escapes to the outside that the lamp may be placed with safety in almost any location desired. There is no open flame which may set fire to combustibles near by, and the external temperature is so low that only actual contact for a considerable time will carbonize or ignite the most inflammable material. It heats the atmosphere to a very limited extent only, and does not vitiate it in the least, there being no combustion. The lamp may be lighted without a match by the simple turning of a key, and may be extinguished with equal facility and safety. With proper care on the part of those in charge, there will be no fluctuation in the light, neither streaks nor shadows. Experience has shown methods of construction and operation which make the electric light safe as a fire risk; and the voltage used is so low that it is impossible to receive a shock of any consequence.

When the electric berth lamp was introduced it met with instant success. A passenger who has enjoyed the luxury of a cool light at

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his shoulder, available at any time during the night, without any disturbance, always seeks a sleeping-car with electric lights. The travelling public is satisfied with nothing less; and to-day no train can be called thoroughly modern and up-to-date unless it can advertise berth lights. The latter are electric, of course, for no other kind has appeared. Along with the berth lamp is the possibility of having electric fans to keep the air in circulation. Another advantage which appeals to ladies is the comfort of heating a curling-iron without the nuisance of an alcohol lamp, so trying and dangerous in the cramped quarters usually allowed for ladies' dressing-rooms. On trains equipped with storage batteries, each compartment and each dressing-room may be furnished with electric heaters, always ready for use by simply inserting the tongs.

Power for operating the electric lamps and other devices may be obtained from storage batteries carried underneath the car, from dynamos, or from a combination of the two. The storage battery consists of a number of lead plates immersed in diluted sulphuric acid. When a current is sent through the battery from an outside source, certain chemical changes take place, which make the plates electrically different; so that when the circuit is provided they will cause a current to flow through. There is no storage of electricity as such, the energy of the charging current being changed into chemical energy, which is stored and later is retransformed into electrical energy.

The dynamo, often called an electrical generator or a dynamo electric machine, is a device for changing mechanical energy into electrical energy; it is based upon the interrelations of electricity and magnetism. For train lighting, the dynamo is driven by a steam engine in the baggage car, or it is belted to the axle. For the engine-driven dynamo steam is obtained from the locomotive; and provision must be made for supplying light when the locomotive is changed at division points. There is likely to be some vibration from the engine throughout the train, which, however, is noticeable only when the train is standing still.

With the axle system provision must be made for lighting the train when standing and also when running at too low speed for the dynamo to operate. The storage battery furnishes the simplest means of supplying light at such times; suitable devices being arranged to transfer the lights from dynamo to battery or vice versa, as required. In connection with the axle-driven dynamos, the batteries are charged from the dynamo on the car, either while the lamps are lighted, or during the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

day, or at both times. Batteries used as auxiliaries to engine-driven dynamos are charged either *en route* or at the terminals, while the train is being cleaned and inspected for the next trip. Batteries used for lighting without any dynamo on the train must be charged at the terminals of the road.

The choice of an electric-lighting system best adapted to a given train or to a given road involves a number of technical considerations which require careful investigation. It may be said in general, however, that the storage battery without any dynamo on the train is suitable for trains which are not more than one day away from a source of charging current; that the system of engine with dynamo in the baggage car is suitable for solid trains going through to their destination, without any changes in make-up; and that the axle-lighting system finds a field almost its own in the case of through trains on runs several thousand miles long, and on trains which are split up by having cars added or removed *en route*, while it can compete in point of economy and good service on trains for which the other systems are suitable.

Comparing the different sources of light, passengers prefer gas to oil, and electricity to gas, provided the electric lights are properly taken care of and are reliable. Since experiments with electric lights on trains have been made from the time when the electrical art was in an early stage of development, it is not surprising that some of the early attempts were not as conspicuously successful as they were expensive. The compressed-gas system was brought to a reliable and commercially successful stage ten years before the electric incandescent lamp was ready, and the gas interests made good use of their opportunity to preëmpt the field. After much expensive development, and in the face of many discouragements, the advocates of electric light for train use have overcome nearly all obstacles; and to-day the electric light is recognized as the only thing for the best service. The modern apparatus is developed to such a state of reliability and perfection that it is now possible for the railways to purchase electric-lighting outfits, or to secure them on a rental basis at moderate cost and guaranteed by ample capital. Now that the electric light has won its standing with the railways, the public may expect a rapid adoption of this admirable source of light and ventilation.

GEORGE D. SHEPARDSON.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEGATIVE SIDE OF MODERN ATHLETICS.

ATHLETICS in school and college have in recent years received so much attention that no one can deny the need of considering their influence in connection with modern education. The subject has been largely discussed, sometimes with enthusiastic admiration, and sometimes with condemnation no less ardent. How much effect this talk has had it is not easy to say. Public opinion is seldom affected directly by argument; and until any popular fashion has run its course words seem to do little in modifying it. The partisan is apt to speak with too much force, the opposition with too great rancor; so that both more often provoke than convince. Argument in favor of the unpopular view is especially ungrateful, and is apt to seem completely ineffectual. Yet the negative side should be presented. This generation prides itself upon being guided rather by reason than by impulse, and it cannot consistently refuse to consider even unpalatable objections.

At a time when the general voice so strongly endorses the present fashion of conducting athletics, I therefore venture to state some possible doubts in regard to the part which sport has come to take in the lives and training of young men. Although my views may not be agreed to, they may at least suggest some fresh thought upon a subject which should be examined with patient and dispassionate attention.

The physical is continually, and, of course, with obvious truth, called the basis of mental growth. One of the doubts which I venture to put forward is whether this fact has not been made to bear more weight than it can fairly support. Few quotations have been more hopelessly overworked than "*Mens sana in corpore sano.*" The nourishment of the mind by the development of the body was one of the dreams of the idealists at Brook Farm; but Hawthorne drily comments that when the work of the day was finished, these cultivated men, instead of discussing philosophy and poetry, leaned idly on the stye and poked the pigs. That a diseased body will warp the mind is conspicuously shown by the violence of dyspeptic Carlyle, the pessimism of bed-ridden Heine, or the sentimentalism of consumptive Mrs. Browning; yet the intellectual

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

results which these and others of their kind accomplished, the good that they did to society, will easily endure comparison with the work of most athletes. The line beyond which physical development cannot well go without injury to intellectual growth is probably to be drawn much nearer simple ordinary freedom from ill health than most theorists are willing to allow. The effective intellectual workers of the world thus far certainly seem to have been of no more than ordinary physical endowments or training. It is at least doubtful if bodily culture can be made an end without stunting mental vigor; and in these days we are face to face with the possibility, if not with the certainty, that the physical is being advanced at the risk of injury to intellectual well-being.

The overworked phrase just quoted, "*Mens sana in corpore sano*," seems in modern practice to have come to be translated, somewhat inexactly: "A sound body necessarily makes a sound mind." Life would be greatly simplified if the understanding could be brought to perfection by training the body; but the method suggests that of the mad professor who proposed to teach students all languages by setting them to build a second tower of Babel. The sane mind responds normally and joyously to bodily health; but such is human weakness that it is too prone to go no farther, to satiate itself in the delight of physical content, and to sink into mental inanition which is entirely satisfied to do without intellectual advancement. The enjoyment of sport and of the excitement attending it has under present conditions not only to a large extent taken the place of mental recreation and mental exertion, but it has also so warped the minds of many of the rising generation as to render intellectual pleasure entirely unattractive. The college man of to-day, I believe, has often been turned away from literature and the inner life by a too great zeal for athletics. What is worse, the absorbing fascination of sport has, in some cases at least, seriously crippled even the appreciation of the delight of mental growth.

The constantly growing lack of the power of concentration and of intellectual manliness was the subject recently discussed by a conference of leading teachers in Boston; and the Principal of the Cambridge High School did not hesitate, if the newspapers report him correctly, to attribute the difficulty in a large measure to athletics. The sentiment is one which I have heard privately expressed by a good many teachers. It is not often said publicly, probably for the reason given by the head of one of the best fitting-schools in New England. "To say anything against athletics in the present craze," he declared, "does no good, and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would simply diminish my influence with the boys and their parents; so I hold my tongue."

How general is the sentiment I do not know; but I do know that it is the general experience at the Institute of Technology, with which I have the honor to be connected, that a boy's work suffers if he goes deeply into athletics. The practical, technical work of such an institution demands the first place in the interests of the student, and is not to be glossed over by cramming or forced effort. Such work is in a manner a fair, if a severe, test of the possibility of combining really serious mental discipline with any unusual degree of special physical training. Whatever may be true of an academic education—although I am not able to see why there should be any difference in the principle—a student in a technical school of high grade, in order to attain to success, must not only attend to his studies, but give to them the very first place in his interest. It is my belief, and my experience as far as this goes, that the work done by students deep in athletics, while it may be conscientious, is seldom of the best or the most lasting quality. Exceptions there may be, and I am aware with what vehemence the statement would be denied by the partisans of modern athletics; yet, on the whole, I am convinced that what I have advanced is substantially true.

An incident which happened to me a few years ago will perhaps make more clear what I have in mind. It is one of a number which might be given; but it chances to be particularly apposite. Coming from the West, I shared a section with a well-built, well-dressed young man, apparently between twenty-five and thirty. He had a wholesome, manly face, evident good breeding, and a personality at once attractive. In the middle of the first forenoon, as we sat opposite, he said without preface: "I beg pardon, but I should like to ask you a question." "Well?" I responded. "How shall I learn to like to read?" he asked, with a seriousness evidently real. Then, in answer to my look, which probably showed my surprise at such a question from a complete stranger, he added: "I saw your name on your bag. I never read any of your books, but I've seen them on my father's table, and I thought that you might help me."

He went on, in answer to my questions, to tell me his experience. He had been brought up in a cultivated family, and by a father fond of books. In fitting-school and in college he had gone deeply into sports, playing first on the 'varsity base-ball nine and later on the eleven. The *intoxication of physical exertion* and the strong delight in athletic competition — that personal struggle which calls out the most subtle refine-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ments of human vanity — took upon him that hold which they inevitably take upon a normal and manly boy. He stood well in his classes; indeed, he said, in naïve unconsciousness of the scale of relative values he was establishing, it would not have been fair to the team not to stand well in his classes. By little and little the old intellectual life to which he had been bred became cold and tame, and then slipped away from attention altogether. He said in substance:

"Of course, I thought nothing of it at the time; but looking back I see now that we really had nothing in mind but athletics. We talked of the games beforehand, estimated chances, discussed the teams we were to meet — all that sort of thing was necessarily part of it, you know. Then after the games we went over them point by point, and talked of the different men and the newspaper reports. I can see now that I wasn't really alive to anything but athletics all the time I was in college. I couldn't to-day pass an examination on any of the things I stood well in, but I could tell you the details of every game I played. After I graduated, I was sent to a country town to a factory my father owns, and there I'm learning the business. There's no society, and I made up my mind to do a lot of reading. I knew I could never be the sort of man I want to be, the sort of gentleman my father is, without the help of books. I've been at it a couple of years, and I've waded through a lot of first-class things. They only bore me. I really care only for the newspapers, and in those I always read the sporting news first. Then I take a book, and go to sleep over it, and hate myself."

I do not pretend that I have reproduced his words literally; but I am not far from this, because the matter made so strong an impression on me. I have told the incident somewhat at length, because I felt then and I feel now that the case was one typical of a large class. It is typical, too, not only of the effect upon students who are actually on the teams, but to a great extent of the whole college fraternity as far as they are interested in athletics as at present conducted. It shows how it is at least possible for absorption in sport to swallow up higher interests.

The notoriety attending any close connection with sports helps to foster this too great absorption in them, and it has an effect perhaps worse in tending to develop a vulgar appetite for cheap sensationalism. The newspaper gossip, the pictures, and the personal details about members of school and college teams, are about as unwholesome as anything which could come to lads in their student days, and the more so from the fact that these are entirely without relation to any intellectual merit or effect. "Notoriety," Kipling has said, "is a windy diet for a young colt"; and the image, if not overrefined, is shrewdly just. The boy who, as the phrase goes, has been "written up," who has seen his picture shining through a haze of sham glory and smudgy printing in the Sunday newspapers, may by innate manliness and native modesty escape unbearable

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conceit; but he cannot avoid coming to look with tolerance on the offensive personalities of modern journalism, and he would be rather more than human if he escaped without some distortion of standards.

The English have certainly less excess in this matter than the Americans. An Oxford man said to me last summer: "But, you know, in American colleges the whole feeling about sport is what we consider a professional one": and few would be inclined to deny, I think, that there is more moderation and a better sporting spirit among English than among American undergraduates. Yet the London "Spectator" has declared that the army is going to ruin because its officers are at school spoiled by "the prevalence of what may be called the playing-fields fallacy," and that nothing can be improved so long as the English parent "puts skill in games far above general intelligence and culture as a qualification for a commission." The London "Times," in a leading article, says that before the public schools can be held qualified to train men to be good officers it must be shown "that the reproach of training boys to care for nothing but sport, and fostering in them no habits of industry, is a malicious libel." If there be any justice in such strictures on the other side of the water, what shall be said of our schools and colleges where athletics are carried so much farther?

The feature which most markedly distinguishes modern athletics from those of the days of our fathers, however, is not the present elaboration, the extravagance with which everything is done, not even the publicity; it is the part which by incitement and by support is taken by adults. The encouragement given to sports by men long out of college, men of affairs and so of standing in the world, is the most peculiar and characteristic of the influences which affect undergraduate athletics. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that this attitude of men of consideration toward college and school sports is at present the influence most effective upon student life, and certainly it is the most important of all outside forces. This seems to me to be the chief cause of whatever in the present condition of things is undesirable.

That the impulse and enthusiasm of youth should be restrained by the cooler judgment of age is perhaps an antiquated notion, but it is none the less a wise one. The inclinations which in boys are entirely natural and wholesome are often those which most need to be restrained and subdued, if a broad and sound development is to result. The natural tendency of the young toward physical enjoyment needs no spur. It should rather be tempered by the broader and deeper perception of those old enough to realize that, while sport must have a part in every well-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

balanced education, it very easily slips into excess, and consequently into evil.

The attention given to-day by adults to sports has thrown things out of proportion. Students are likely from natural impulse to give to sport a sufficient emphasis; and the result of present conditions is that young folk inevitably, even if only half-consciously, come to overestimate the value of physical training in education. Sport is the one thing in college life which at the present time awakens enthusiasm outside, and it is impossible that this fact should be without effect. The thousands crowding to an intercollegiate game arouse every fibre in the young and responsive collegian and set him a-tingle with excitement. Nothing connected with the intellectual side of education is reinforced by outside interest in this way. The general public cares so little, for instance, for the intercollegiate debates as hardly to know which side wins. A debate is not an especially seductive form of recreation, but it is the one public event of rivalry between universities on intellectual grounds; and if any genuine interest in this side of college life existed in the people at large, some sign might be expected here. By actions, which are everywhere so much more effective than professions or protestations, the public, and the educated and cultivated portion of the public in particular, say to the undergraduate that athletics are of more consequence than anything else in a college career. It does not seem possible that under such a state of things the student's sense of values can escape distortion.

This distortion of values is fostered, moreover, by the character of modern sports. The claim that they develop pluck and produce a gain in self-control and responsiveness is undoubtedly well founded. No one could for an instant deny the worth of these things: the question at issue is whether they are not perhaps in this instance purchased at too high a price. There are times in every noble life when the cool calculation of chances is the most contemptible cowardice; but the man who is a hero differs from the man who is merely rash or foolhardy largely in virtue of his power to distinguish the real worth of a cause. The man who encounters great peril for trifles has always and properly been held to have but an ill-balanced mind.

In modern athletics the comparison between the gravity of the risk and the value of the result is such as to warp the judgment. I have no intention of bringing up the question of the brutality of foot-ball, or the horrors of the dressing-rooms at a modern athletic meet. These things are known sufficiently, and the advocate of athletics is forced to accept

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

them as necessary evils, but evils not great enough to counterbalance the good which he believes to result on the whole. In face of fact, however, no one can deny that the risks are possibly of the most grave. The New York papers last autumn published a list of some dozen fatal accidents on the inter-scholastic foot-ball field for the season; and whether this particular list be authentic or not, there have certainly been deaths enough from foot-ball accidents to give pause to those not either thoughtless or convinced that the end justifies the danger. For a youth to be trained to run this risk for mere sport is not likely to help him to a just perception of comparative worth; and so far as it influences his character, it would logically seem likely to make him rather rash than brave, rather foolhardy than heroic. He might be ready in the heroic moment; but the heroic moments are rare in ordinary life, and the opportunities for impetuosity and rash folly are numerous. This may seem somewhat extravagant, because the danger of fatal catastrophes on the athletic field is seldom realized; and it is generally held that the players do not believe in them or they would not play. Young and ardent lads will run any risk and enter upon any foolhardy enterprise, if they are sufficiently spurred on by the encouragement and applause of their elders; and, moreover, they do realize these things when outside of the actual excitement of play. The risks exist, and I have known more than one instance in which a man on a school or college team has felt himself to be by public opinion blackmailed into participation in a game which he regarded as dangerous to the last degree. Certainly, to be praised and lauded for running such risks as are admitted, when the stake is what it is, cannot help a youth to just appreciation of real and relative values.

Undergraduates are generally a pretty shrewd set. They are at the least conventional period of life, and they are very little likely to be deceived by conventional professions. They may at first be imposed upon by the glib assurance that their elders encourage athletic contests from pure interest in the well-being of youth and a noble and self-sacrificing desire to promote their higher education; but they are too shrewd not to perceive the spirit in which the sports are witnessed, and to appreciate the exact quality of that zest. The student understands the men who are genuine in their support, and who are actuated in their generous aid to athletics by a real faith in them: no less does he realize perfectly that the tens of thousands of spectators who rush to a foot-ball game come together in the same mood in which they would crowd to a bull-fight. He comprehends that the multitude is assembled by the love of amusement.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The college serves as an agreeable background for personal preferences and exciting rivalries of talk or of bets. But the college on the field of sports touches nobody as an intellectual ideal: in that atmosphere it does not shine forth as an *alma mater* of mental nourishment or of higher aspirations. Every college student realizes this with the unwinking clearness which is characteristic of these unreverential days. He sometimes says plainly that the crowd do not care for the risks of the player, if they can have their fun; although, as a rule, this side of the matter, if it comes to his thought, seldom finds its way to his lips, lest he be suspected of flinching. He does not fail to believe the men who with so evident sincerity and zeal declare their belief that athletics are of high value in education; he respects their genuineness and shares their views. Neither does he fail to comprehend, however, that if college athletics depended for support upon interest in education they would come quickly to a starveling end. The support of the public, despite whatever eloquent speeches are made to the contrary, the undergraduate knows to depend absolutely upon the extent to which the public is entertained.

The leading educational institutions of the country are precisely those places where this spirit of excitement and amusement at any cost is most strongly felt. The indifference of people in general to intellectual concerns and their greed for amusement are thus burned into boys at the most impressionable period of life, and that, too, under the sanction of the very universities of which the highest function should be that of nourishing the intellectual ideal.

The intellectual standards of any civilized land are obviously the measure of its permanent advance. They are established, not by the many, but by the few; and the few, the leaders of the higher thought, have a right to claim from a university its best support and coöperation. The university which simply fits men for utilitarian ends is false to its best uses; and still more is it unworthy if it instil or foster material or degraded views of life. The university has a duty to the nation which is not less than that which it owes to the individual student. Personally, I find it impossible not to feel that the prominence given at American universities and schools to athletics is a menace to their influence for good to the public or to students. The intellectual ideal may not have been abandoned or degraded; it most certainly has been obscured.

The effect upon the universities which has been brought about by modern athletics is more grave, because more far-reaching, than any immediate effect upon individuals. The well-being of the student is a serious matter, but it is, after all, of less real consequence than any vital

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

deterioration in the character of institutions of learning. One cause cannot be entirely disentangled from another in considering the modifications which come about in complicated modern social conditions; but it is not impossible to distinguish at least the tendency of the present exaltation of sport. Social prominence in colleges to-day is so largely dependent upon physical prowess that whatever power scholarship should have in this direction has been much discredited. The institutions which are nominally the conservators of the intellectual ideals of the nation introduce students into a society where intellectual distinctions have sunk into a secondary place. Instead of being four years in an atmosphere of learning and of mind, the youth is during his college course constantly impressed through his surroundings with the idea that success is to be won rather by the body than by the mind; that popularity is of more effect than culture; and that learning may be disregarded for more showy and ephemeral accomplishments.

This unfortunate condition of things is more firmly established by the class of students attracted to college by the fame of athletic victories. The day that a university receives a single student who has been brought there by its record in the field it weakens its intellectual standing; and to-day it is difficult not to feel that not only have our leading universities taken in many such men, but that they have deliberately counted upon this means of increasing their numbers. In so far as a college is not responsible for such students, it suffers a misfortune in their coming; in so far as the college, directly or indirectly, is responsible, it has been false to the principles on which institutions of learning are founded; it has been guilty of sacrificing to present and fallacious appearances of prosperity its real and lasting efficiency.

The grave matter of the moral effect of college athletics on individuals I touch upon with reluctance; and I have no hesitation in confessing that it is a point about which I neither feel clear nor qualified to speak conclusively. That, during training, men are kept from dissipation is insisted upon constantly, somewhat as if it were fair to assume that they would necessarily be dissolute if left to themselves. Physically they are perhaps as often injured by overtraining as under other circumstances they would be by vice; but it would be unfair not to recognize that the rectitude is good, no matter how it is promoted. To some extent, in individual cases, it is balanced by the excesses with which men "break training"; but, on the whole, the influence of self-restraint cannot but be beneficial. The fact that men in training are excused from drinking at clubs has introduced to some extent a decline in the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

old, silly and tyrannous habit of forcing by college opinion the acceptance of "treats," and doubtless has diminished the habit of drinking. What is of more importance, the prevalence of out-door sport has done much to make the whole rising generation clean-minded.

These things are not to be passed over lightly; but they are, in the first place, advantages which need not be diminished if athletics were kept within proper bounds; and they are only remotely inspired by those ideas of moral responsibility which have in the past been universally regarded as the foundations of real ethical strength. The excesses in drinking, in gambling, and in general debauchery, which have accompanied intercollegiate games, have created a good deal of scandal. They are said to be less flagrant than formerly, but it is not likely that they will disappear so long as the occasion remains.

The influence upon character of becoming responsible to a trainer first, and to constituted authority only secondarily, certainly seems of doubtful merit; and of graver, because more insidious, effect is that of accepting support in athletic expenses to be repaid in public exhibitions. As a writer in "The College" puts it, when a man gets on a team "his classmates pay to make him so skilful that by and by they may pay to see him." A student who would resent with fine indignation any proposal that an association of his fellows should bear the cost of any intellectual training has apparently no scruples about allowing the same thing to be done when his bills are for physical development. The scandals which have arisen at the keeping of men in school or college simply to help on the teams are largely things of the past, since here, at least, public opinion has stimulated the somewhat sluggish college consciousness into a perception of advisability, if not of honor. The nearest that I have ever been able to come to a conclusion in this delicate question is that athletics properly conducted are advantageous to college morals, but that the present method of conducting them introduces evils which at best go far to counterbalance this good.

In all that I have said I have been trying to deal with things as they are, and I have consequently avoided touching upon what might or should be. It is not my place here to dwell upon the brighter side, because this has already been so strongly insisted upon that an article such as this is meant merely to arouse thought of possible drawbacks. No sane man can shut his eyes to the substantial advantages which belong to the development of the physical side of youth; and certainly I have no desire, as I believe that I have no inclination, to underrate them. The whole question, as I have suggested, is that of deciding whether

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the obvious benefits are worth what is now paid for them, and of seeing whether what is really good is not possible without what seem to be unequivocal evils. Life is a sharp huckster, and exacts the price to the last farthing.

Too much attention has been paid to what is gained in modern athletics, and not enough to what is lost. The true benefactor of the universities to-day, and through them to the community at large, must be he who would use his influence to arouse and to foster intellectual ideals, who would set himself deliberately and effectively against the overvaluation of the physical, and do his part to recall the universities to their great office of correcting the materialistic tendencies of the age. Where is the country to look for the generating and nourishing of intellectual impulse if not to the educated classes? And how is this to come about if education means athletics first and mental good afterward?

Whatever be true of cultivated men to-day, to the general public the college has come to be so largely identified with sport as to represent ideals rather physical than scholarly. Even if unfounded, such an impression would be a misfortune from its influence in degrading popular standards. When public sympathy and interest have been brought to the point of appreciating and enjoying the intellectual side of college life and effort, athletics may be magnified with comparatively little danger of evil consequences. At present, enthusiasm for bodily training has so distorted and maimed the whole system of education that, at the obvious risk of offending and of seeming extravagant, I cannot refrain from closing with the deliberate expression of the conviction that athletics is in education to-day the most serious obstacle to the advancement of intellectual growth.

ARLO BATES.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EVENTS OF THE DRAMATIC SEASON.

THE revival of "Henry V" by Richard Mansfield, and the production of "L'Aiglon" were decidedly the leading events of the dramatic season of 1900–01. Croakers who are continually bewailing the decadence of the American stage should be able to find some consolation when the main honors of a theatrical season are divided between Shakspere and Rostand, the latter of whom seems destined to be the Shakspere of France.

Mansfield's revival of "Henry V" disposed of the "brainless Apollo" view of this Shaksperian "historie," which had prevailed since its prosperous run at Booth's Theatre, a quarter of a century ago, with George Rignold as King Henry. Rignold was an Apollo, and little else. Consequently, "Henry V" was put down as requiring a spectacular setting, a handsome Harry — and that was all. That in it there were possibilities for an actor of ripe intellect and unusual power of expression was lost sight of. From this point of view Mr. Mansfield's revival came as a revelation.

Nothing finer, more artistic, or more complete, as a series of stage pictures, has been seen here. Mr. Mansfield's fine assumption of the title rôle and his drilling of his company made the drama itself stand out prominently from the spectacular environment. Superb as was the spectacle, it was without sacrifice of the dramatic movement. Even the climax of the most brilliant scene, the greeting of King Henry by the populace on his entry into London, after Agincourt, was not smothered in spectacle. The sudden forward rush of the people, with a mighty shout of acclaim seeming so spontaneous that it fairly carried the audience off its feet, was distinctly a dramatic moment. Yet, with its waving banners, flashing armor, and jubilant crowd, it was one of the most gorgeous spectacles ever presented upon the stage. It was a study in how to make a spectacle thrillingly dramatic.

The actor's reading of the lines betrayed the scholar and the man of action. The stirring speech beginning "Once more into the breach," and ending "With God, for Harry, England and St. George," was robust and vital with action, as was also the St. Crispin Day speech before Agin-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

court. Yet the subtle soliloquy on the emptiness of kingship was given with a finesse which drew the audience into the very woof of Shakspere's thought. In looks, Mr. Mansfield was the character to the life; not an empty-headed Apollo, but a robust, picturesque English soldier-king.

To have succeeded in demonstrating the dramatic qualities of "Henry V" is a great triumph, because the drama had to play through spectacle. Moreover, there is no love episode to interest the average theatre-goer until nearly the end of the play; although to us, of the inner circle, who are accustomed to wait more than three mortal — or, rather, immortal — hours for our "Siegfried" Brünnhildes, that does not make so much difference.

I am quite willing to admit that I am an ultra-enthusiast over Rostand. It is like being charged with too great admiration of Shakspere. Either accusation honors the accused. One has but to look at Rostand's portrait to realize that he is a genius, and a serious one. The innate refinement, delicacy, and poetry expressed in his features preclude the possibility that he should ever stoop to anything unworthy of the gifts which nature seems to have lavished upon him. His two plays which have been produced in this country, "Cyrano" and "L'Aiglon," are of equal power, though wholly dissimilar in subject. In the earlier play, an eccentric, yet brave, lovable, self-sacrificing, French literary character of the eighteenth century — almost forgotten even in his own country — has been revived and immortalized by the young dramatist. In "L'Aiglon" we have a modern Hamlet, the youthful and attractive scion of an imperial house, the son of the great Napoleon, fired with ambition to regain his heritage, yet at the critical moment doubting his own power, and forever losing the opportunity to a throne.

The meeting of the conspirators with this Eaglet, on the desolate field of Wagram — what a masterpiece it is in picture, action, and language! The low, rolling, barren country in the pale, cold moonlight; the dim figures of the conspirators; facing them the slender and pitiful presence of the consumptive whom they are to follow to France and a throne; back of him the tall old grenadier of the guards, faithful Flambeau, who, as he once fought for the father, now watches over the son — this is what the eye sees. But to the mind even the picture already conveys the sense of impending failure. You feel an inevitable conviction that from these weird and ghostly surroundings the Eaglet, who had vainly been beating his wings against the barriers of diplomacy, never will soar away an imperial eagle.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But the fatal hesitancy, and the arrival of the Austrian secret agents in time to avert the dash for France, do not form the climax of the act. That is reached in a far different way. Unwilling to become a prisoner of Austria, Flambeau, the grizzled veteran of many wars, fatally stabs himself. The other conspirators are led away. The Eaglet alone remains with the dying grenadier on the battlefield of Wagram. A storm rises. In the soughing of the winds, mingled with the groans of the dying Flambeau, the prince seems to hear the moans and shrieks of the wounded and dying in the great battle his father fought and won on this very field. Visions of the dead rise before him like accusing shapes. He feels the consumptive damp upon his brow. Yes, he, this pale, pitiful, and death-devoted form, is the atonement for the slaughter of the Napoleonic wars.

> . . . I am the expiation.
> All was not paid, and I complete the price.
> 'Twas fated I should seek his battle-field,
> And here, above the multitudinous dead,
> Be the white victim. . . .
> Wagram, behold me! Ransom of old days,
> Son, offered for, alas! how many sons.
> Above the dreadful haze wherein thou stirrest,
> Uplift me, Wagram, in thy scarlet hands!

The sounds of battle increase with the rising wind. In wild delirium the Eaglet draws his sword. Suddenly, as day breaks, the imaginary din of combat is merged in the strains of a military band. He sees Austrian soldiers, France's enemies at Wagram, coming up the road. Beside himself, and shouting commands to imaginary grenadiers, he rushes at the first ranks of the Austrians. An officer parries his sword, exclaiming, "For God's sake, Prince! This is your regiment." It is true. Before the Eaglet knew that the conspirators were to meet at Wagram, he had ordered his regiment there at dawn for drill. The spell is broken, the delirium is over. The Eaglet, raising his sword and looking toward the cold, stiff body of Flambeau, commands, "Salute the dead."

This scene is masterly in conception and flawless in execution. The picture is supplemented by word and action; the word, by action and picture; the action, by picture and word. It is developed by a dramatic genius who knows the value of a scenic setting in keeping with the impression to be made by what is to occur; of action which seems to grow out of the picture; and of dialogue which harmonizes with both. Yet, this is but the greatest of several great scenes in "L'Aiglon." As in "Henry V," love interest is almost wholly lacking in this Rostand

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

play. But it is not needed. Attention is concentrated upon the Eaglet, upon whose frail shoulders rest the fate of a dynasty and the future of a nation; and who elicits, not the admiration lavished on a strenuous hero, but the tribute of sympathy, pity, and tears. The imperial purple was not for the Eaglet; he hardly belongs to history; he was almost forgotten; but now he will be wept over for many a day, since Rostand has recreated him as he recreated Cyrano.

"L'Aiglon" was acted in English by Maude Adams, under Charles Frohman's management. It was a long stride from Scotland to Schönbrunn, from Lady Babbie to the Eaglet. Miss Adams, however, successfully stepped from one character into the other, and made a great advance in her art and in her reputation. To shine in a rôle written for the great Bernhardt, and in the opinion of many to appeal more strongly in it than the creator of the rôle herself, certainly was a triumph for the young American actress. Comparisons are ungracious; yet I cannot refrain from saying that personally I prefer the Eaglet of Maude Adams to that of Sarah Bernhardt. The wan, pitiful figure which Miss Adams makes in the rôle is in itself appealing; and, all through the play, Miss Adams' portrayal — by very reason possibly of her physical limitations — is the brave soul dying in a frail body. Mme. Bernhardt's performance is superb; Miss Adams' is not. It is not a performance at all; it is the Eaglet.

The return of Mme. Bernhardt to America, bringing M. Coquelin in her train, was the great exoteric event of the dramatic season of 1900–01. They made their first public appearance together in the Garden Theatre, New York, on October 27. The play was Rostand's "L'Aiglon," already seen here in translation — for Miss Adams' production at the Knickerbocker preceded that in French — but now for the first time produced in the original.

As the Bonaparte Eaglet, caged and beating his breast against the bars, Mme. Bernhardt gave a performance full of passion and power, but, for these very attributes, lacking the pathetic note. She simulated the boy with extraordinary success. Her masculinity was not a mere matter of exchanging petticoats for trousers. With the trousers she seemed to assume the sex to which they belonged. Especially was the idea of youth — wilful, fretful, eager, ardent, emotional youth — conveyed by action, accent, and attitude. She was a boy in her exultation as in her despair, in her loves as in her hates. No other rôle has afforded to Mme. Bernhardt so great an opportunity for displaying the range and variety of her marvellous gifts. Yet it was a performance — not a complete

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

merger of self in character; for in appearance she was too tall and too robust for the physical weakling. M. Coquelin scored a triumph in his thoroughly artistic and convincing embodiment of Flambeau, the loyal, valiant, and chivalric veteran of Napoleonic wars.

M. Coquelin was, in fact, greater as Flambeau than as Cyrano. Yet that, too, was a fine performance. The part is one that might easily lend itself to caricature; indeed, it had tempted other excellent actors to at least the border-line of caricature. But in all his moods as swashbuckler, braggart, lover, friend, wit, and hero, M. Coquelin's Cyrano never forgot his personal dignity. He was poet first and humorist afterward. His very humor, indeed, was pregnant with poetry. Nevertheless, I prefer Mansfield in this rôle. He looks it more to the life, besides more fully mastering its pathetic opportunities.

Mme. Bernhardt had little to do in "Cyrano." M. Coquelin had even less in the production of "Hamlet." He was originally cast for Polonius, but gave up the part because he said he could not understand it, and took instead that of the First Grave-digger. In this he presented a little sketch full of the charm and detail of Meissonier. But it was likewise as French as Meissonier. He was a French peasant to the life, not an English yokel.

Curiosity had been piqued by the expected Hamlet of Sarah Bernhardt. It was curiosity rather than the artistic sense which was satisfied by it. Mme. Bernhardt's make-up was good, her bearing gallant, her elocution admirable. But the masculinity she had assumed with the pantaloons somehow disappeared in doublet and hose. Her Hamlet was essentially feminine, not so much in externals as in spirit. Vindictiveness, a shrill vixenish spite, was its dominant note. This appeared especially in the play scene, where her movements were cat-like in their malignity, and in the subsequent scene where Hamlet catches his uncle at prayers, starts to slay him, and then seizes the first pretence for hesitation—the fear that he may send him to heaven. Doubtless, Shakspere here meant only to emphasize the irresolution of Hamlet's character. Mme. Bernhardt uses the incident to emphasize the vindictiveness which she attributes to him.

Mme. Bernhardt's Hamlet misses the Gothic gloom and the poetic glamor which hangs around the Danish Prince. He is a garrulous Latin, not a reticent Teuton. He plucks out the heart of his own mystery, and exhibits it to the audience. Absolutely sane, he puts on an antic disposition to work out his own ends. In this respect, Mr. Sothern, whose Hamlet was an earlier event of the American season, agrees with Mme.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bernhardt. But his disagreement on other points is so wide that he originally left out the prayer scene because he thought — wrongly enough — that it placed Hamlet in a cruel and repellent light. This very fact is a clew to his chief error, — a failure to understand the peculiar irresolution of Hamlet's character, an irresolution due not to weakness, but to a many-sided vision. Nevertheless, Mr. Sothern's Hamlet was a notable event. It was careful, conscientious, and scholarly. Indeed, the Hamlet production marked a decided advance in Mr. Sothern's art. Like his "Sunken Bell," it indicated a tendency to turn from the fol-de-rol of modern romances to the serious masterpieces of the stage. Such an inclination on the part of a young and accomplished actor, who inherits a noted name, should be encouraged in every legitimate way.

Mr. John Hare brought over to this country a play which had made an enormous hit in London, Pinero's "The Gay Lord Quex." It has one act — the third, of course, — which is startling in the rapidity and dexterity with which surprise follows surprise, until the wholly unexpected climax takes your breath away. For the sake of this act the play was written. It is only a duel of wits between a man and a woman. But it is admirably written and excellently acted. Mr. Hare as Lord Quex, the polished, aristocratic roué, who holds his emotions in constant check, and Miss Irene Vanbrugh, as the well-meaning vulgarian whose affected calmness is gradually overmastered by hysteria, presented an effective contrast.

There were several minor events which merit at least passing mention. Among these were the charming performance of Miss Annie Russell in "A Royal Family"; Miss Ethel Barrymore's delightful appearance in Clyde Fitch's "Captain Jinks of the Horse Marines"; Miss Amelia Bingham's production of Mr. Fitch's "The Climbers"; the one matinée performance by Mrs. Le Moyne, Miss Eleanor Robson, and Mr. Otis Skinner, of Browning's "In a Balcony"; the representation of Mr. Augustus Thomas's comedy of Western life, "Arizona"; and Miss Margaret Anglin's evolution from a delightful comédienne to an emotional actress of much power. This last was accomplished in "Mrs. Dane's Defence," at the Empire Theatre. Another capital actress, Miss Hilda Spong, who so admirably headed Mr. Daniel Frohman's excellent company at Daly's Theatre in "Lady Huntworth's Experiment," will, next season, become a star. She is a gifted and sparkling comédienne.

Surely, it is worthy of note that the most successful American playwright of the present day, Mr. Clyde Fitch, had no less than five plays running in New York at one time this season. They were, besides the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

two previously named, "Barbara Frietchie"; "Lovers' Lane," a picturesque rural comedy; and "Beau Brummel." This does not look as if American authors were discriminated against. Managers are simply looking for good plays — American or foreign. It is an American author, however, who this season seems to have borne off the palm of royalties.

Mr. Ripley D. Hitchcock, the discerning gentleman who, as literary adviser to the Appletons, was happily responsible for the publication of "David Harum," joined with his brother in making a fairly effective drama out of the novel itself and some vague reminiscences of "The Old Homestead" and other bucolic favorites of the stage. The dramatists were fortunate in disposing of their work to Mr. William H. Crane. Of all present-day actors, Mr. Crane seems to be the one best fitted to portray the peculiar type of rural Americanism. He embodies to the eye the gnarled, crabbed, and uncouth surface, while suggesting to the inner sense the underlying humor and humanity. He harmonized these contrasts into a sketch rough-hewn on the same outlines as those whereon David Harum's creator had worked. Nevertheless, he missed, as, indeed, his authors constrained him to miss, some of the charm of the whimsical detail.

In other words, the Harum of Hitchcock and Crane, though amusing and interesting, was not quite the Harum conceived by the novelist and reconceived by the reader. That is a fault to be found in most of the recent dramatizations from novels. Hence, the dramatized novel, for which there was such a rush among managers, and which was to be the play of the future, has fallen rather flat. The trouble lies not with the novel or with the general idea of dramatizing fiction; it lies with the rush. Eagerness to put fiction on the stage before public interest in the book begins to wane is doubtless responsible for much trash which only the popularity of an actor or actress has managed to keep on the boards for the season. Scissors and paste will never take the place of brains — not even of another person's.

Yet one of the best plays of the season is dramatized from a novel. But in this case it was not a current success in fiction which had to be rushed on to the stage, for fear that another book would come up and supplant it in popular interest. It was a novel that had been popular for years; and the play made from it appears to have been as carefully composed as if it were a piece of original dramatic work. I refer to Mr. Paul Potter's stage version of Ouida's "Under Two Flags," which was produced at the Garden Theatre, with Miss Blanche Bates as Cigarette, a rôle she acted with the emotional contrasts inspired by fierce, untutored

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

love, emphasized by flashes of unreasoning jealousy. In fact, Cigarette stepped out of the novel on to the stage.

That play was not hastily thrown together, hodgepodge, with little of the original, save its title, and practically nothing of its atmosphere. The leading character was made as vivid, as contradictory, and as adorable as in the book. When I add that the production was put on by that master of stagecraft, Mr. David Belasco, it will be understood that this was not the work of a dramatist who had been stumbling over all the others in his haste to get ahead of them in placing a popular book before the footlights.

Mr. Edward E. Rose's method of turning books of the moment into plays — also of the moment — is, perhaps, typical of this American industry. Mr. Rose has dramatized so many books that he can turn a fat novel into a play in two or three weeks. He never reads a book more than once. But after that one reading what a sight that book is! Making the play as he reads, he marks up the pages, cuts out paragraphs, and rips out whole chapters. When he gets through, there is not much left of the novel, but the play is there. For how long it is there is another question. A play so made can hardly be more than ephemeral. Often, too, it must work injustice to the author of the book. He, however, deserves no sympathy. He knows that his book is to be shovelled on to the stage in order that the play may be borne along on the same tide of popularity. He has sold his birthright for a possible mess of theatrical pottage. He is *particeps criminis* — more reprehensible, in fact, than Mr. Rose's pencil, scissors, and paste-pot.

In fine, dramas made from books are of little value when hurriedly prepared to meet a popular craze. Mrs. Fiske has a valuable play in "Becky Sharp," and Mr. William Gillette in "Sherlock Holmes"; but these were carefully studied out and written. The dramatization of "In the Palace of the King," for Miss Viola Allen, and so finely acted by her, was also done without undue haste. In fact, Mr. F. Marion Crawford, the author of the novel, shaped his plot in consultation with Miss Allen, before he began writing his book. By this reversal of the usual order of things, a first-rate play was secured and no harm done to the novel. On the other hand, such plays as "Richard Carvel," "Janice Meredith," and "When Knighthood Was in Flower" would not be tolerated as plays but for the books and for the fine acting of Mr. John Drew, Miss Mary Mannering, and Miss Julia Marlowe.

How not to dramatize a novel was one of the pregnant lessons of the season. I hope it will be taken to heart. GUSTAV KOBBÉ.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A NEW CLASS OF LABOR IN THE SOUTH.

PROHIBITORY statutes directed against the labor of children in cotton factories are simultaneously pending in the legislatures of Georgia, South Carolina, and Alabama, while bills of kindred purport are being pressed forward by members of the North Carolina and Mississippi Assemblies. In more than one of these States there will be no such legislation for several years; but it is fairly assured that before the twentieth century shall have completed its first decade no child under twelve years of age will be working anywhere in Southern cotton mills, nor, indeed, any boy under fourteen nor girl under sixteen, except with limitations as to hours and seasons. Compulsory education is also pressing close after such laws, which, even if they should many times fail to pass, will nevertheless before long find a path to the statute book.

Not the most ardent Southerner denies that our section has lagged far behind the East in many movements of profound import to race progress; but in regard to these child-labor laws, no one need be surprised that we are to-day going over ground covered by the lawgivers of New England half a century ago, and that public sentiment among us is only just now allying itself with practical considerations to promote the necessary legislation along this line. The fair-minded will reflect that the need for this legislation came to us late. Nineteen years ago there were only 667,000 spindles at work in all the cotton States; to-day the manufacturing records concede us 7,000,000 spindles in actual operation and another 1,500,000 planned for. The looms have more than kept pace with the spindles. All this means that the textile operatives of the South have grown, since the early '80's, from the most inconsiderable class in their section to a great and rapidly increasing army.

Whence comes this great aggregate of workers that has grown in a score of years from a scant 20,000, all told, to a quarter of a million beings, representing four times that number depending upon the fruits of their labors — a host that swells in size daily as this wide-reaching industry opens up more and more in various directions where natural fitness points the way?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The operatives in the new Southern factories, which means nine-tenths of the factories in the South, are all white, and they have come from the tenant farm, the cotton field, the hill-side corn patch, and the mountain hut. A strictly agricultural or pastoral people by the practice and traditions of many generations, they have been suddenly converted into a manufacturing population. Native to our soil as truly as were their grandsires before them, unmodified by any foreign element, or even by a single urban or communistic instinct, with the rustic vices of America strong upon them as the rustic virtues of America, and knowing nothing of community life, here they are, untrained and untutored, alien to their present occupation, yet strenuously adapting themselves to its demands, and laboriously acquiring the skill requisite to success in their new pursuit. For the present they are still a rural people in traits and tendencies. They have not been strengthened by resisting the evil of cities, or weakened by yielding to it. When another decade has passed, no one must expect the same thing to be true. There will be a better status or there will be a worse, — never the same. Every portent points to the former; for the dullest man can read the signs of an awakening to the rights of these people; their right to better wages, to better homes, to full educational and religious privileges.

But what brought about this movement into the factories? Every one must remember the predictions of Northern and English manufacturers of forty, thirty, and twenty years ago. To give a sample of their arguments, I quote from an address delivered in Connecticut in 1872:

"The attempt to establish cotton manufacturing in the cotton-growing States must continue to be a failure; for, aside from other inherent and invincible defects, the South has no mechanic class, scarcely a laboring class, indeed, save the agricultural, and its tillers of the soil are not convertible into textile operatives. The one solution would be to import mill hands, and other phases of the situation steadily oppose this."

The speaker's assumption, that labor which is by ancestral instinct and personal predilection agricultural is the most difficult in the world to be diverted, was in the main correct. But there were unknown quantities conspiring to bring unexpected results before another generation was gone. If the markets of the world had not been manipulated until cotton was forced from its throne, the present situation would have been impossible. The clew to the anomaly is in commercial mutations.

The staple commanded $1 per pound when the Civil War closed, — a tremendously inflated value, certainly. When it sank to its apparent normal, 15 cents, the vast plantations of ante-bellum days were being rapidly parcelled out into little farms, remaining, in general, the property

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of one landlord; but the small plats were rented separately to the landless whites, to the native "cracker" element, and sometimes to the decayed gentry. The rent was always payable in a portion of the crops, cotton being usually required. This system of labor was called tenant farming; and, source of sore evils though it was, it yet seemed the only thing at the moment to take the place of the old labor system which was shattered. The freed blacks soon began to swell the ranks of the tenant farmers; and, the land being once more tilled, the number of millions of bales of cotton increased each year.

Soon the play of traffic, combined with Southern stubbornness and ignorance regarding the diversification of crops, became a serious menace to the cotton-producing States; and it was the tenant farmer who faced starvation first. Cotton had fallen to 8 cents, 7 cents, 6 cents; and the negro, stout of arm and revelling in the hottest sun, was crowding the farmer in the field. But in most cases the white worker doggedly held on, while his faithful but hopeless wife plodded the furrow beside him. The brood of little ones, barefoot the year round, stunted from lack of nourishment, did their share of labor also.

But when the once precious product had been forced down to $4\frac{3}{4}$ cents per pound, is it surprising that much of it was left ungathered in the field, that the tenant farmer was breaking ranks, that an industrial revolution almost without precedent was inaugurated? The small propertied class of this section had been learning its lesson. The sum of it was: We are ruined unless we can manufacture our own staple, and give the world the finished fabric at prices that will enable us, and those that come after us, to live.

Cotton factories were springing up like magic everywhere; and the managers were inviting the poor from all the countryside to come in and follow the new occupation at wages that seemed wealth to them, unable to make the crudest estimate of what the new expenses and needs would be. Young men and women without ties came first; then came widows and orphans in numbers; the tenant farmer himself held back no longer, for the driving behind him was hard enough to conquer the most radical ancestral traits and tendencies. Next came, though in far smaller numbers, the hill-country people, the highlanders, first peeping into the new homes of their one-time lowland neighbors, who, it was rumored, were now enjoying a fabulous prosperity. To look was often to be tempted. The sovereign freedom of the hill-tops was a dear price to pay for material comforts; but more than once even this price has been paid.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Thus have the Southern mills filled up; and the managers of more than two-score of them have assured me personally, in the last twelve months, of their own satisfaction with this class of labor. There are traits born of their past, a few philosophizing mill men have told me, that make these people "difficult." Independence often beyond all reason; a reserve that withholds even necessary confidences; and an inability to be coerced into measures, however good — these belong to them by the law of inheritance. Extravagance is theirs by the law of reaction. Unacquainted with money in the past, they regard their present earnings by contrast as well-nigh inexhaustible; and these are dissipated in the most improvident fashion. Fair weavers earn from $7 to $9 per week, fair spinners from $4 to $6.

When we bear in mind that large families are the rule among these people — a single family may have as many as eight workers in it, divided about equally between the spindles and the looms — we recognize that a household which, under the old conditions of the tenant farm or the hill pastures and patches, would have thought itself wonderfully fortunate to handle $100 in cash per annum, may now bring home more than $150 every month. The rent of its cottage is from $4 to $6 per month; fuel is not an important item in this climate; dairy and garden products and grain stuffs are cheap. Where does the bulk of these earnings go? Several such families which I visited were no more extravagant than other people might well have been under similar circumstances. Give their sense of proportion, of comparative values, a chance to grow, and see if they do not every year find better and better use for their hard-earned dollars! In spite of these and kindred traits, the mill managers find this class of labor really excellent in the main. A hard past has made brave workers of them when they are at work.

But these newly made operatives themselves, are they as well content as the mill owners? Productive industry should have its word no less than capital.

Having gone in and out familiarly for two years among these people, I find the varying strata among them that one must look for even when humanity draws into classes. I find content and discontent here as elsewhere, and each sometimes with, sometimes without, justification. Mills vary, mill managements vary, and the toilers themselves vary most widely. Many of the latter are thoroughly satisfied with what their next-door neighbors may feel to be a mere mess of pottage for which they have bartered their birthright. A few are setting their teeth grimly and hiding their dollars, preparatory to going back to the farms — God speed them!

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Yet there is a better class than either — a class with vision that clears every day. Men and women are in it, young and old, some of whom have been in the mills a dozen years or more, some barely long enough to get accustomed to the whirl of the spindles and the throb of the looms. I have talked with boys and graybeards of this class, with little lasses and grandmothers, and they tell me the homely truths which, though they may have been found merely by accident, are yet proving safe guide-posts. "Our village is the best I've been in," said a widow to me at the Erwin Mills, North Carolina. "I hated to change so many times before, but I had to; I couldn't abear fur my gals to grow up in bad company. Now I hain't goin' to move no more, fur the young folks here is modest an' quiet, an' we've got ez good schools ez is in the land, an' the best Sunday-school an' church you ever could find. Mr. Erwin is superintendent of our Sunday-school his own self."

"I wouldn't go nowhar else now," said a young wife to me at the Caraleigh Mills, North Carolina, herself a former operative, now a new mother. "I b'lieve in lettin' well enough alone. There's good wages here, an' good cottages furnished to us, an' Mr. Moring treats us right. Besides, the men work here, an' keep their wives out of the mill when there's little uns to be looked after an' a house to be kep' neat. I want to raise my chillun here an' send 'em to school."

"Fur the chillun's sake!" Here is the keynote to whatever is best in the situation. It links the lowest to the highest.

They are an illiterate people, these operatives. Only 82.8 per cent of the adult workers in the factories of North Carolina can read and write, and the showing is much worse in Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi. How could it be otherwise when they had no schools, or only the "three-months' " county schools, in the past? Now a free school with an annual term of from five to ten months is within the reach of all. Religious privileges have been equally extended. They have bartered the independence of the soil, these workers in the new Southern industry. But if the example of Pelzer and Piedmont, of the Courtenay, Erwin, Tryon, Dallas, Eagle, and Phenix Mills is followed, if the workers are given everywhere, as at these, not merely schools, but the best of graded schools, with night and kindergarten classes; not only churches, but good free lectures and entertainments, as well as public libraries, reading- and club-rooms, technical instruction, and moral and domestic training; a great good to many millions of creatures will be the issue of this unprecedented industrial revolution.

LEONORA BECK ELLIS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SHEEP AND THE FORESTS.

In The Forum for February, 1901, there appeared an article by Mr. C. S. Newhall on "Sheep and the Forest Reserves," in which sheep are condemned, on several accounts, as an unmitigated nuisance when grazing in forest land. The article in question contains a brief statement of the main arguments which are used in opposing the proposition to allow sheep grazing in forests. The observations of Mr. Newhall were made chiefly in California, and his arguments and conclusions are presumed to be especially applicable to conditions in that State. It has long been apparent to the writer that many of the arguments which are used against sheep grazing do not hold true for all of the forest reserves in different parts of the country, but are, as a rule, applicable to special or local conditions only. I therefore take this occasion of replying to the four principal charges which are brought by Mr. Newhall against sheep, and I shall base my remarks largely on observations made in Montana, Idaho, and Wyoming.

Mr. Newhall arraigns sheep on the ground that they eat and tread the country bare. It is conceded that sheep are not so omnivorous as goats; but it is claimed that they eat all kinds of shrubs and young trees, even including branches of pines, and that the young shrubs which might, if left to themselves, grow up to replace the old trees are totally destroyed by browsing or trampling. The blame for such destruction is laid to the sheep and to the indifference of herders.

For a number of years the writer was engaged in the study of plants poisonous to stock, and he had occasion to observe the feeding-habits of sheep under all conditions. The majority of these observations were made in Montana, including open-range country, ordinary forests not belonging to the reservations, and the Lewis and Clarke Forest Reservation. It may be stated as a general proposition that sheep seldom, if ever, graze in the timber or even under shrubs in any of the forest land of Montana. The writer has repeatedly observed that where sheep are grazing in open parks in woodland, they will not voluntarily enter the timber, even during the customary noonday rest, but prefer to lie down

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the open, exposed to the sun. The difficulties of managing sheep in timber are very great, since a band may easily become separated and many of the sheep lost. Most of the sheep raisers with whom the writer has had conversation on this subject have said that they issue orders to their herders not to allow the sheep to graze in timber areas, on account of their liability to be lost.

In the Lewis and Clarke Forest Reservation the only timber trees on ground accessible to sheep are fir, spruce, pine, and quaking-asp. Any one who has ever seen a band of sheep feeding in mountains will readily understand the almost insuperable difficulties of managing them in rough ground where the whole band cannot be kept in sight; and this explains, in a large degree, the fact that, strictly speaking, sheep are not grazed in timber in Montana.

It is well known that sheep raisers have the habit of driving their bands of sheep after shearing-time to mountain ranges, where they are kept until snowfall. The forests of such ranges are not continuous, but are interrupted by open parks in which there are no trees or shrubs. These parks are usually well covered with grass and other plants which are eaten by sheep. Extended observation shows that under such conditions sheep prefer the various native plants which are usually grouped together by sheep herders under the term "weeds," leaving the tall grass, especially that which is grown in the shade of trees, to be eaten by cattle. The difficulty of raising cattle and sheep on the same range, usually experienced in an acute degree in open range, disappears under the conditions of mountain ranges.

The writer took occasion to ask all the stock raisers he met for their opinion of the forage conditions of the range as compared with those of ten, fifteen, or twenty years ago, and, without exception, he received replies which indicated that the conditions were nowhere worse, and in many instances were distinctly better, than during the days when stock raising was a new industry. The grass does not now grow so tall as it did then, but it stands much thicker on the ground, forms a better sod, and offers far more nutritious forage than when a few long coarse stems were growing instead of the fine matted grass of the present day.

As to Mr. Newhall's contention that the grass is destroyed by the trampling of the sheep's sharp hoof, it may be well to relate a few personal observations made on this point. Near Gray Cliff, Montana, there is a timothy meadow which has been in continuous sod for about twelve years, and upon which a large band of sheep is allowed to run every year in the spring, *i. e.*, during the time when the ground is moist and most cut

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

up by the trampling. The timothy has maintained itself in good condition, and has not needed a reseeding, such as would have been necessary if the ground had been left without this breaking up. It is not at all difficult to see that the sod of ranges which lie near sheep corrals, sod which is frequently overrun by large bands of sheep, is denser and yields a greater amount of forage than sod in its natural condition on the range. The statement of Mr. Newhall that nothing is left alive on the ground when a band of sheep has passed must be characterized as highly exaggerated. Sheep do not kill native grass by trampling or by eating it. On the contrary, they exert a decided influence in promoting the development of a more closely growing sod. As to the alleged destruction of small brush by sheep, this is certainly not true for Montana, since, as already stated, sheep do not feed in such situations, and therefore cannot trample over small shrubs.

The second charge of Mr. Newhall is that loose ground is dug up by the trampling of sheep and made more susceptible to the eroding action of water, and that by the same action clayey soil is more firmly packed and rendered more impervious to water. The writer has never seen any phenomena of this sort, and it is exceedingly difficult to understand how the trampling of sheep should have such different effects upon the soil under different conditions. As to clay soil in a dry condition, the passing of a band of sheep has no perceptible effect in packing it or digging it up. When, on the contrary, such soil is wet, the hoofs of the sheep sink into it, and thereby cause a retention of the water, which is exactly what seems to be desired. On mountain sides which bear a sufficient quantity of forage to tempt sheep, the ground cannot be stirred up to a sufficient extent by the trampling to cause any noticeable increase in the rapidity of erosion. As already stated, the observations upon which these statements are based are especially true of Montana, Idaho, and Wyoming.

With regard to the charge that sheep are indirectly responsible for forest fires, it is only just to call attention to the fact that one evident means by which fire can sweep through large areas of forest is removed by the eating and trampling down of coarse herbaceous growth, and the consequent formation of a sod with short grass in the open park areas which are found throughout forest regions. It would seem to be in accordance with the accepted notions of fire prevention in forests that the maintenance of such open parks in a condition which offers the minimum of inflammable material should be encouraged in every way. The writer can testify from personal observation in many localities that sheep do

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this more effectively than other animals, and that they encroach to the least possible extent upon the neighboring forest areas.

It is, of course, necessary that young trees should be allowed to grow to replace old trees which are dying or being cut; and it is interesting to note and easy to see, by a study of the forest conditions of Montana, that the natural areas of forest growth are not those upon which sheep graze, and that the maintenance of such areas does not in any way limit the extent of sheep grazing. So far as the writer has been able to observe, no sheep raiser in Montana is disposed to complain of any limits to his sheep range set by natural forest areas. As to the charge of Mr. Newhall that sheep raisers and sheep herders deliberately set fire to forest areas for the purpose of burning off trees and allowing the grass to grow, it should be stated that as far as my own observations go this does not apply to Montana.

Mr. Newhall says: "Sheep men are careless with their signal fires; they are careless with their camp fires; they build fires carelessly for protection against wild animals; they start fires purposely in the fall to clear the ground for a better spring growth of feed." The camp outfit of the sheep herder in mountain ranges in Montana includes almost without exception a small sheet-iron stove, and it is a rare occurrence for camp fires to be built under any circumstances. It should also be mentioned that sheep men are much concerned with the prevention of fires in forest areas; since sheep are the most helpless of all creatures in case of fire, and are therefore most apt to be destroyed. In the opinion of the writer, the vast majority of forest fires is due to the carelessness of tourists, hunters, and campers.

While Mr. Newhall concedes that tourists and hunters are exceedingly careless in the matter of camp fires, he nevertheless claims that they may be much more easily watched and controlled than sheep herders. To the writer the exact opposite of this statement appears to be true. It is certainly an easy matter for a forest patrol to locate a herder with a large band of sheep. The movements of the band are necessarily slow, and the trail can easily be followed. Hunters and tourists, however, frequently travel with a small outfit, and usually go in places inaccessible to sheep or in localities where sheep would not be taken. They frequently have no well-planned route, but simply take a course which the exigencies of the country demand. It is a notorious fact that such parties almost invariably build large camp fires around which they may spend their evenings; and the writer has frequently found such old camp fires still smouldering after the party has broken camp.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The further charge is made against sheep that the mountain water supplies are polluted by their presence. While this charge is undoubtedly true, it is equally true of all the domestic animals, and of business enterprises which may be established along the lines of streams. It is, of course, impossible to keep all pollution out of streams without prohibiting all business along their course; and the economic question arises, in this connection, as to whether it is desirable to prohibit the development of an immense industry, such as sheep raising, on the ground that the mountain streams may thereby be somewhat polluted. In the case of almost every city in mountainous countries, it is possible to find abundant water supply in the large springs which take their origin from the mountain sides; and water can be piped from such sources without possibility of pollution. If the water supply is taken from large streams, the necessity of filtration or of other treatment of the water becomes apparent immediately; since the water is necessarily exposed to a thousand sources of pollution which are not connected with the sheep industry.

It is, perhaps, not too much to claim that sheep raising is a legitimate business, which is followed by many men of good education who have the general interests of the country at heart as much as any of their neighbors. The business of sheep raising requires that the owner should build an extensive and costly plant and that it should become a fixture of the locality. It is, therefore, necessary, from a business standpoint, for him to conduct himself in a manner which is consistent with the welfare of his fellow citizens. His business depends as directly and as absolutely as that of any other man upon the maintenance of the water supply and of the forage. The average sheep raiser of Montana and Wyoming understands these conditions thoroughly, and manages his sheep on principles which are calculated to maintain a range in good condition and to improve the conditions wherever this is possible. It seems, therefore, to be a decided injustice to the intelligence of the sheep raisers to accuse them of deliberately attempting to destroy the very conditions upon which their business rests.

In the arguments here presented no attack is intended on the general proposition to reserve the forest areas as far as possible. It is contended, however, that the sheep industry is in itself of sufficient importance to demand recognition. It would be unfortunate if legislation should be adopted which would prevent the further development of sheep raising, or even its maintenance upon the present basis, in a State like Montana, where no evidence has been presented to show that the sheep raisers have abused their privileges, or that the sheep have actually done

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

any damage upon the forest reservation. In the case of the Lewis and Clarke Reservation there are large areas upon which no trees grow from which lumber could be made. Small, irregular trees suitable only for firewood, growing in comparatively inaccessible places which show no evidence of ever having been forested with good timber trees, can scarcely be considered of more importance to the country at large or to the immediate vicinity than the sheep industry of the particular locality. It is believed that this statement would hold true even if the sheep should actually eat up all the trees on such areas. As already indicated, no injury to these forest areas has been thus far found which could be attributed to sheep grazing. The maintenance of a slow and gradual flow of water from the mountains depends fully as much upon the presence of a good sod containing an abundance of grass roots as upon the presence of trees. It is a fact which can be verified even by the casual observer that some of the steepest mountain slopes are well covered with grass, although unprotected by tree growth.

It is frequently stated that the mountain snow is protected from the direct rays of the sun by evergreen trees, and that it is, therefore, not melted as rapidly as in places not so protected. This statement, however, does not hold true for special conditions. In Montana all snow which falls under trees has usually disappeared by the first of June, and from that time on, during the season when water for irrigation is most needed, the supply comes from snow banks which are formed by the continued driving of snow over rocky cliffs and crags in places where there are no trees to impede the progress of the wind. If the mountain slopes were covered continuously with a thick forest growth, the snow could not be drifted, but would lie uniformly distributed to a depth of from three to five feet, depending upon the location of the mountain range. Under these conditions, all the snow would melt off with great rapidity during the warm weather of May and June, and little water would be left for irrigation. The main source of supply for water during July and August is found, as already indicated, in the snow banks which form at the foot of cliffs to a depth of 75 to 300 or 400 feet. The formation of such deep masses of snow would be impossible in a forest.

It has been charged that weeds and other less desirable plants take the place of the native forage plants when the native plants, including grasses, are grazed upon continuously by sheep. So far, however, as the writer's observations go in Montana, the exact reverse of this is true; and it may be stated as a general proposition for that State that the continued grazing by sheep brings about the gradual extermination of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

all weeds except a few which are not regularly eaten by those animals. In fact, this matter has long been recognized by a number of the more prominent sheep men; and several of these have informed me that according to their experience the only plants which had become or could become weeds on the range were those which the sheep would not eat. It is well known that native and introduced grasses endure continued close cropping far better than other plants; and, as a result, the grasses come to occupy the ground as the other plants are gradually exterminated by the sheep. In some localities the writer observed two aggressive plants which were gradually spreading; and, as far as they had extended, they occupied the ground almost completely. These plants were a native species of plantain and chickweed, which were undesirable as forage, and were never eaten by sheep.

It may be found desirable to limit the number of sheep which are allowed to graze in the forest reservations; and from conversation on this subject with a number of sheep raisers the writer has concluded that the majority of these men would be glad to coöperate with the Government in maintaining the forest reservations in their present condition, in preventing fires, in protecting timber in other ways, and in preventing any evil effects of overgrazing. As already indicated, fires in the mountains where sheep are being grazed are of more menace to sheep men than to any other private individuals. The sheep may be caught in the fire and burned, or they may be left without forage by the burning of the dry grasses and weeds. The prevention of fires is, therefore, of immediate interest to the sheep owners. These men desire to graze their sheep in the mountains from year to year, and are therefore anxious to preserve the forage plants in as good condition as possible. So far as observations were made by the writer, no deterioration could be seen in any mountain range where sheep were grazed. EARLEY VERNON WILCOX.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOW LONDON WAS SAVED.

AMERICANS who work for a nobler city government regard the London County Council as a pattern of ability, integrity, and enterprise that can only be vainly longed for on this side of the Atlantic; but, for their encouragement, they should recall the fact that not many years ago the government of London was the worst in Great Britain — unrepresentative, backward, dishonest, — a subject of scorn and scoffing, a by-word amongst provincial rulers.

Up to 1889 London had no central, representative governing authority. From 1855, the Metropolitan Board of Works, composed of delegates from the local district authorities, conducted such general government as existed. Since the district authorities were generally incompetent, vulgar, and narrow-minded, the Board of Works consisted of a distillation of mediocrity and vulgarity. Originally it was intended to look after main drainage and a few minor matters; but it soon took over the Fire Brigade and bridges, executed large public improvements, acquired and maintained parks and open spaces — became, in fact, even diseased as it was, the only central organ of London's civic life. It was long the despair of progressive citizens. Its incompetence was manifest and its honesty suspected; but years of agitation and hard work were needed to undermine it. At last a Parliamentary inquiry showed that several officers of the Board had been guilty of corruption and that some of the members were not above suspicion.

Opportunely, the House of Commons was constructing a scheme for the rural government of the English counties. In 1834, when the other city governments were democratized and reconstructed, London was left out, because its old authorities were too strong to be overcome; but now, after waiting fifty years, with English disregard for logic, London was lumped in with the rural districts and got representative central government.

The chief fault of the discarded Board of Works was its undemocratic character. Not being elected directly by the tax-payers, it was out of touch with popular sentiment. Its members were unknown mediocrities,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and its decisions were seldom discussed by the public. Therefore the suffrage for the election of the County Council was made wider than for any other London government body. Democracy was courted, not dreaded; by extension, not by restriction, of the suffrage was improvement sought.

What has been the result? Little interest was taken in the first election; only a few zealous reformers saw that this was the time for a big effort to lift London out of the mud. Reactionary interests that had battened on the old system of misgovernment were careless. They thought the city could never be wrested from their clutches; but, to the surprised delight of honest people, the Progressives won a substantial majority. Then came the ordeal. "How will these radicals use their power?" everybody asked.

First, they fulfilled their pledges of non-partisanship by selecting men of the highest character and experience, men of all parties in national politics, to take the seats in the Council that were in the gift of the elected members. They took over the employees of the old Board and made such changes gradually as efficient government required; the political influence and services of applicants being absolutely unknown. Only two or three times in twelve years have charges of improper influence in appointment been made against a member, and not one of these has been proved.

Most of the members are business men, or professional men in active practice, who take from their private affairs, at some financial loss, the afternoons and evenings which they give gratis to the city. A few labor representatives who receive wages from trade unions and from voluntary subscriptions have done specially good service by voicing the wishes of the manual workers. There is also a sprinkling of titled persons, with a few imperial ex-administrators of special ability and public spirit; but the policy of the Council is framed and directed by the altruistic level-headed business and professional men. As a rule, the work has been too onerous for the titled leisure class. Dry committee detail day by day, with no exciting debates or public show, soon wears out the dilettante representative; but the business man, with habits of work and an ideal of public service, sticks doggedly to the task and moves things forward.

In the first Council, the elements were very diverse and at first uncongenial to each other. It was with many qualms that Lord Rosebery accepted the chairmanship and took the reins to guide this fiery, unruly team. They showed little regard for the traditions of ceremonial and dignity, beloved by most Englishmen; but, what was far better, they

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

knew the way to win the masses permanently to the side of progressive government.

They began, by heroic measures of self-denial, to show dramatically their severance from the methods of the Board of Works. The favorite form of extravagance with that body was the granting of banquets and liberal allowances for expenses to themselves. The County Council, though its members received not a cent in salaries, decided that they should take no refreshments out of public funds. When committees visit the lunatic asylum twenty miles away, they refuse the hospitality of the institution and pay for their own lunches at the hotel. When the Council meets each week from three to seven, the cup of tea and slice of cake at five o'clock must be paid for by the members. But, most important and effective, they began to use all their powers for social betterment. Having been elected on the promise of progress, they quickened the pace as soon as they were in. Their record up to the present time is astonishing.

The Council took up with considerable enthusiasm the task of providing "gardens for the gardenless." It was quick to recognize that, if the city was to be kept healthy, it would require more "lungs," especially in the crowded districts. It took every opportunity to secure parks for the people. When it came into office in 1889, it had under its control forty-three parks and open spaces, with a total of 2,578 acres. Now it has control of eighty-seven parks, gardens, play-grounds, and open spaces, with an area of 3,814 acres — double the number and fifty per cent larger acreage.

At the cost of much dreary detail work to the unpaid representatives, the open spaces have been made to give the largest return of healthy sport and instruction to the citizens. Special gymnasiums have been constructed for the children; and at Victoria Park huge sand beds have been provided for the enjoyment of the little ones of the poverty-stricken East End. Careful and skilful provision is made for the playing of bowls, cricket, croquet, foot-ball, hockey, hurling, lacrosse, lawn-tennis, quoits, and golf. In the summer time boating and bathing are encouraged; and in the winter months the Council uses every precaution to secure good skating-surfaces on the lakes. It has insisted that a reasonable tariff shall be charged at all the refreshment houses in the parks, and has established a municipal band, which gives 852 performances, at forty-eight different places, during the summer.

The Council won the hatred of dishonest dealers and the regard of the poor, by pouncing down on coal merchants and retail traders who had been

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

using inaccurate weights and measures with impunity. It secured so many convictions as to make dishonesty impossible, thus saving thousands of dollars to the helpless consumers, the poorest being the chief gainers.

Early in its life the Council began to receive a subsidy from the imperial exchequer, which it was empowered either to spend on technical education or to apply to the reduction of local taxes. Consistently with the remainder of its policy it chose to use it to forward education. Consequently, the facilities for apprentices and journeymen to improve their knowledge of their craft, and their understanding of the scientific or artistic principles that underlie it, are now as good in London as in any city of the world. London possesses eleven great polytechnics similar to the Pratt Institute at Brooklyn and the Drexel Institute at Philadelphia. They are all provided with well-equipped laboratories for the teaching of science and technology in application to the practical requirements of various industries; and they likewise have social and recreative sides, with their clubs and debating societies, their concerts and dances, more or less fully developed. The Council contributes $250,000 a year to their support, and by expert inspection and advice ensures the best curriculum for the 45,000 students. In addition to these, the Council has established, or aided in establishing, half a dozen special trade schools and technical institutes, opened a central School of Arts and Crafts, assisted numerous technical art schools, improved the science teaching throughout the metropolis, and established a system of scholarships with free tuition and maintenance grants enabling the son of the poorest workman to climb from the public school to the university or technical college.

In no department has the Council's determination to help the working people been more conspicuous than in its housing policy. As the sanitary authority it found numerous foul rookeries in London unfit for habitation, — breeding-places of disease and crime, pest spots on the heart of the empire. The Board of Works, which it had supplanted, had cleared some areas at an enormous cost, and had sold the land to builders, at cheap rates, for the erection of alleged model dwellings that had become, in some instances, "model slums." The Council determined that the only way to guarantee sound structures and reasonable rents was to build houses itself, to supplement the supply by the genuine model housing companies. The obstacles were appalling, but they have been surmounted. Dwellings have been, or are being, erected for 32,000 persons, and the purchase of land has been sanctioned for 50,000 more. These municipal dwellings give better accommodations than can be got for the same rent elsewhere in the locality. They go beyond the requirements of the strin-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gent building-laws which the Council secured after a hard struggle, and they set the standard for future regulations. Besides, they are profitable to the tax-payers; for, after allowing interest on cost and a sinking-fund, which will make land and houses on city property free and clear in sixty years, they yield a small net profit which goes into the municipal purse.

In February of this year, the Council announced its grandest scheme for municipal housing, the largest ever contemplated by any city, which includes the purchase of 225 acres of land just outside London on the north, and the creation of a veritable Garden City, to accommodate 42,500 persons, in beautiful cottages. In the middle of this model city, a city without a slum or a private landlord, a site will be preserved for shops and public buildings — including a free library already promised by Mr. Passmore Edwards — and, near by, a gently undulating open space, with the river meandering through it, will be laid out as a public park. With the Council's street railways extended to the estate, and with workmen's trains on the adjacent steam railways at four cents for the round trip to the centre of London, ten miles away, it is certain that the scheme will relieve the overcrowding which is one of London's most perplexing social problems.

Quite early the Council proved its sympathies and aims by inserting in its contracts clauses requiring the observance of trade-union conditions as to wages and hours of labor. Contractors who had made princely fortunes out of the old Board resented this intervention and formed a ring to bring the Council to its knees; but they found their master at last. The Council proved that the public is stronger than a band of plunderers, if its representatives are determined. As the contractors agreed together to raise their bids extravagantly, the Council resolved to punish them by doing its work without their aid. The Works Department, which resulted, has been the special target of the reactionary minority in the Council, but it has survived all attacks and has been endorsed by strong majorities at the elections. It is almost impossible to decide whether the work done by the Department would have been executed for less money by contractors. The opponents of the system declare that it is a trifle dearer; supporters say that the quality of work and absence of contractors' extras more than counterbalance the estimated loss, while the establishment of the Department has pulled down contractors' prices from fifteen to twenty-five per cent, during the last seven years. One thing is clear; London has appreciated its Council's purposes and has approved its fight with the contractors.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Through the neglect of Parliament to establish a central government for London, all its paying public services — water, gas, heat, railway, telephones, etc. — were in private hands when the County Council was created. No part of its policy has been more determined or won more popular support than its treatment of these franchises. Its members have acted consistently on the rule that they are the attorneys for the public, bound in honesty to discover weak points in the armor of the corporations, and to defend every claim the public has against them — to bargain with all shrewdness and patience for the best terms obtainable. The corporations are abundantly able to look after themselves; they need and deserve no help from the people's representatives.

The County Council has missed no chance to apply this rule. It has spurred the water companies by analyses of the water, by opposing their applications to Parliament for extensions of their systems, and by pushing schemes for buying them out. Inquiry after inquiry has been held with this purpose; plan after plan has been formulated; and offer after offer has been rejected. So far, the House of Lords has refused to sanction terms that the Council considers reasonable, and the matter is still in dispute. The companies, with their friends in Parliament, are determined to extort ten per cent above the market price as compensation for compulsory purchase. The Council will not allow the justice of any such claim. Meanwhile, however, the service has been compulsorily improved; the systems of the different companies have been connected; and the likelihood of water famines has been diminished. The Council guided the municipal agitation against the telephone monopoly, which resulted in a Parliamentary inquiry that overthrew the monopoly and secured the adoption of municipal telephones in some provincial cities, and a government system in connection with the Post Office in London.

With respect to street railways, the Council was able to go further. By the terms of the original franchise, it purchased, as the central authority of London, the lines of the companies at the end of twenty-one years, without payment for franchise value. When the time came for giving the statutory notice, the Moderates (minority) used every crafty device to prevent the purchase; but the Progressives (majority) persisted and succeeded.

In 1896 the Council came into possession of practically all the lines north of the Thames. But the parties being of about equal strength in the Council at that time, it was agreed, as a compromise, to lease the lines to the old company until 1910, at $225,000 per annum and 12½ per cent of the gross increase of receipts.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In 1899 it acquired in addition almost all the lines south of the Thames, upon terms fixed by an arbitrator, and itself began to operate them. On these lines the Council has instituted a ten-hour day for employees and one day's rest in seven, besides raising wages, providing uniforms free, and lowering fares. Last year, forty-four per cent of the passengers paid one cent; forty-three per cent paid two cents; eight per cent, three cents; four per cent, four cents; and one per cent, six cents.

The reduction of fares represented a gain of $97,500 to the consumers. Yet the profits were $485,000, or $10,000 more than the company earned in the last year of its working. After paying the interest and sinking-fund charges, which will wipe out the whole capital account in twenty-five years on part of the line, and in sixty years on the remainder, there was a disposable balance of $274,000. Under the leasing system north of the Thames, the tax-payers got $3,750 per mile; and under the system of municipal operation south of the Thames they got $7,835 per mile.

The companies had neglected to adopt electric traction in place of the cruel and inefficient horse system; but the Council is making the change, after careful investigations. When it is completed, the profits will almost certainly be increased by two million to two and a half million dollars per annum. Colonel Rotton, when this report was presented, confessed in debate that he and many more Moderates had been converted to the desirability of city ownership.

Lastly, the Council has formulated a scheme for the public control of the London docks, which has been received with warm approval by shipowners, merchants, and voters; and, further, it is at present developing a city steamboat service to displace the antiquated, slow, and expensive system of a private company, which is again breaking down.

This sketch of the Council's work is enough to show that efficiency for social betterment — the use of the collective power to help especially the weak — has been characteristic of its policy. It has recognized the unity of interest which makes the welfare of the poorest a matter of importance to the richest. It has been daring, ingenious, hard-working, all for one purpose, to make the city a little better place for the masses to live in — to abate their misery a trifle, to increase somewhat their means of enjoyment.

This policy has notably created and fostered civic pride. Public dissatisfaction was as marked in 1889 in London as it is to-day in New York; but the Council has changed grumbling to gladness. The London citizen is no longer ashamed of his city; he sneers no more at his gov-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ernment, nor does he regard an alderman as necessarily a glutton and a boodler. With gratitude he has continuously supported the Progressive policy.

On imperial questions London is always overwhelmingly Conservative. Nearly all its representatives sit on the Tory side in the House of Commons. On the County Council the bulk of the Progressives are Liberals and Radicals, while practically all the Moderates are Conservatives. But the first two elections, and the attitude of the Progressives at the Council meetings, showed conclusively that they thought nothing of national politics when deciding London questions. Therefore, to their banners have flocked thousands of independent voters and altruistic Conservatives who prefer a well-governed capital to empty party victory.

At each election the Moderates have tried to import national issues and to use the national-party machinery, because they knew that the normal Conservative majority was overwhelming. Not once have they succeeded. Against them the Progressives set the list of their social achievements and the programme for more work of social betterment. The supreme test of the voters' fidelity came at the election in March of this year. Only four months earlier the Liberal party had been almost annihilated at the polls in London; "khaki" had triumphed east and west and south and north. Therefore the Moderates, weary and chilled with twelve years of opposition, tried to shed their old name, sad with so many memories of defeat, and came out plumply as Conservatives in an appeal to the voters not to return a pro-Boer Council. As Mr. McKinnon Wood, the leader of the Progressives, retorted on them, the Moderates "held their patriotism so little precious that they took it into the market-place and bartered it for votes."

Further, to mystify the electors, the Conservatives gave a belated endorsement, in their official manifesto, to the social programme which they had been opposing for twelve years, but to which they now announced their tardy conversion. Did the citizens want street railways? The Conservatives were in favor of the rapid extension of the people's service, which they were rejoiced to find so successful. Were more municipal houses desired? The Conservatives would build them wherever they were required. Technical schools, improved parks, good conditions of labor, and the rest — all might be left to the Conservatives.

Progressives easily showed that this old-age repentance, complimentary and gratifying as it was to them, was somewhat suspicious. They would be glad, indeed, if their old foes would help them in future to brighten the lives of the London workers and to fight the monopolistic

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

corporations. But should not a period of performance in opposition be exacted as a pledge of sincerity? And were not the people who had initiated and partly completed a policy more likely to continue it heartily than the old-time opponents who approved unwillingly? This view was taken by the voters, who, despite the war fever and the obliging promises of the Conservatives, gave so conclusive a victory to the Progressives as will insure rapid and daring advance toward municipal socialism within the next three years. Corruption, incompetence, and parochialism are killed.

Would not such a policy, pursued by similar men with the same sincerity, be as successful in New York and other American cities as it has been in London? In Detroit and Toledo, for instance, have not American voters shown that they are just as ready as Londoners to break the national-party bond in favor of a radical policy of social improvement? Tammany wins the workingmen's votes because it voices, though hypocritically, their hostility to monopolies, their interest in social measures. Reformers lose, partly through their class prejudice, partly through their failure to formulate great measures, their opportunity of leading the people in their attack on overgreedy franchise holders.

A good illustration of the difference between the reform parties in the two metropolitan cities is at hand. In New York there has existed for ten years a Rapid-Transit commission, consisting of eminent citizens, all known as reformers. This commission, now a permanent body, was considered so trustworthy that for several sessions it could get from the Legislature, for the asking, any powers it wanted. Yet, after the citizens had cast a large majority, on a referendum vote, in favor of municipal construction, this commission, on account of difficulties with Tammany, in faint-hearted weariness, presented a bill to the Legislature to enable them to give away the whole franchise to a private corporation. Through their lack of spirit and enterprise, they had already prevented a vote being taken on the municipal working as well as the building of the tunnel, and only by popular clamor was the fatal cession of the whole work prevented. London reformers would have seized such a brilliant chance to lead the electors against Tammany and the hostile corporations alike. They would have said: "We are endowed with large powers; we can obtain more powers if we need them; we are even paid for our services. Why should we not, as public servants, make and work this tunnel for the citizens? Tammany shows hostility; the corporations refuse to make adequate bids; city money is to be used for construction anyway; we can make sub-contracts for sections of the tunnel as easily and as efficiently

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as a corporation; we will keep the entire work and the profit of it for the city itself, and so defeat Tammany and the monopolists together at one blow."

London's experience and New York's insistence on construction by city credit show that such a plan would have won enthusiastic support; and these reformers, business men of high standing and unimpeachable integrity, could have commanded the city.

To appeal for honesty and decency in government is not enough. Reform politics are not aided by men who do not care to extend city functions for the sake of bettering social conditions; men who distrust the working classes, and cling with senile strength to the worn-out doctrine of *laissez faire*. Hope for permanent progress lies in the conversion of these men to more liberal ideas, and in the dominance among reformers of the philanthropic citizens with positive schemes of social betterment, who will sacrifice time and class interests for the improvement of city life.

JOHN MARTIN.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SPOILED PARENT.

As the extreme practice of almost any virtue may grow into vice, a protest against the abuse of the virtue of filial self-sacrifice may not come amiss. Indeed, when we remember how much has been written of the vice of filial ingratitude, a glance at the exaggeration of the converse virtue seems eminently needful. The literatures of at least three languages contain masterpieces upon the theme "how sharper than a serpent's tooth it is to have a thankless child." Besides Shakspere's "Lear" there is Tourgeneff's "Lear of the Steppe" and Balzac's "Père Goriot." And it is to be noted that with the great Frenchman the vitality of the theme inspired perhaps the truest flesh-and-blood realism in the whole range of his production. Not only the central figure, but all of the characters are strikingly veritable men and women. The book contains none of the more or less shadowy personages thrown upon many of his screens as typical illustrations in the vast scheme of the "Comédie Humaine."

One of the most vivid and pathetic counter-pictures occurs in another story of French life — Mr. Henry James's "The American." Madame de Cintré renounces her marriage with Christopher Newman and buries her heart alive in a convent, at the command of her mother. Madame de Bellegarde, after nibbling at the bait of the American's great fortune, finally concludes that the *mésalliance* is out of the question; and her daughter's inclinations are given about as much weight as those of a horse that wants to turn down one road but is pulled by the bit into another. Madame de Cintré is a martyr to the social system of France, under which there is preserved, in great potency, the tradition of the absolute power of the patriarch of a family in primitive society.

In Roman jurisprudence, the type of the primeval paternal authority, under the designation of *patria potestas*, was preserved in very substantial force down to a surprisingly late era. The exigencies of military and political affairs, however, compelled certain innovations upon the ancient usage:

"In every relation of life in which the collective community might have occasion to avail itself of his wisdom and strength, for all purposes of counsel or of war, the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

filius familias, or Son under Power, was as free as his father. . . . But in all the relations created by Private Law, the son lived under a domestic despotism which, considering the severity it retained to the last, and the number of centuries through which it endured, constitutes one of the strangest problems in legal history."[1]

It is true that *patria potestas* as a definite and authoritative rule of law was not adopted by the Germans or Franks. Indeed, Sir Henry Sumner Maine shows that the old French lawyers "were obliged to protect themselves against the intrusion of the *potestas*" by an express maxim. Nevertheless, "all the German immigrants seem to have recognized a corporate union of the family under the *mund*, or authority of a patriarchal chief," whose "powers are obviously only the relics of a decayed *patria potestas*," albeit they "fell far short of those enjoyed by the Roman father."

The prevalence of the *potestas* for so many centuries and the social attitude it made organic in Roman civilization have perpetuated its essential spirit and moral authority among all the various inheritors of that civilization. And thus, as anomalous under the democratic sentiment of to-day as was the rigid preservation of *patria potestas* itself during the Roman empire, the tradition of patriarchal absolutism sways not only quasi-republican France and politically atavistic Germany, but democratic England and still more democratic America. In dramas and novels of American and English life, where instances of filial immolation occur, the moral atmosphere embodies the conventional, undemocratic standard. The point of view is indulgent and apologetic. Parental egotism and exactingness are treated as moral matters of course, although much milder manifestations of selfishness on the part of children would be viewed by the writer and his readers alike as monstrous. A serious social reform to be accomplished by the further evolution of democracy is the setting right, according to justice and common sense — and without subverting real affection and respect — of the sentimental relations of parents and children.

The writer is acquainted with a woman now in middle life whose present appearance would indicate that in youth she had a very fair share of physical attractiveness. She has never married. She is philanthropic in instinct and affectionate in such friendships as she has been able to form. In moments stolen from filial drudgery she has managed to read a considerable amount of good literature, which has been well assimilated. Considering the seclusion in which she has passed the greater part of her days, she manifests a surprising culture and social aplomb.

[1] Maine's "Ancient Law," chap. v.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

She has suffered an eccentric and whimsical mother to absorb almost her every thought and almost her entire physical energy. She has never passed a week away from her mother and probably does not average more than one waking hour of the twenty-four out of her mother's presence. Not only does the mother require physical offices of the daughter in preference to those of a servant or nurse, but she insists upon practically perpetual companionship. There is no reason for the daughter's lot, as the family is wealthy and lives in luxury.

Too many persons who are acquainted with the circumstances are disposed to extenuate even this extreme instance of parental vampirism by ascribing it to an unusually absorbing parental affection. On the contrary, it results from monumental and wicked selfishness. Some measure of personal attachment undoubtedly exists, but it should rank in moral grade about on a par with the tenacity of habit which causes a cat to cleave to a garret. Sentimental ideals should be, and in time doubtless will be, so readjusted that a parent would not dare to go to such lengths of unconscionable self-indulgence, and a child would feel that, though generosity prompted her to yield to every exaction, duty compelled her to refuse, in like manner as it constrains a parent to withhold from children the indulgence that spoils and makes vicious.

The prevailing sentiment was well illustrated by a humorous paper, "On the Training of Parents," by Mr. Frank R. Stockton, which made a decided "hit" on its publication in a magazine a few years ago, and is now included in his collected works. The vein of pleasantry lies in a reversal of the orthodox conception of the relation of tutelage, and in the suggestion of methods by which children may train parents in the way they should go. The following passage, especially, was gleefully quoted by newspapers throughout the country. After describing in detail the method by which a timid horse is coaxingly reconciled with the existence of a wayside, empty barrel, the author says:

"We know well that there are parents who, plodding along as quietly as any son or daughter could desire, will suddenly stop short at the sight of something thoroughly understood, and not at all disapproved of by his offspring, but which to him appears as objectionable and dangerous as the empty barrel to the high-strung horse. Now let not the youngster apply the mental lash, and urge that startled and reluctant parent forward. Better far if it take him figuratively by the bridle, and make him understand that that which appeared to him a vision of mental or physical ruin to a young person, or a frightful obstacle in the way of rational progress, is nothing but a pleasant form of intellectual recreation, which all persons ought to like very much, or to which, at least, they should have no objections. How many such phantasms will arise before a parent, and how necessary is it for a child, if it wish to carry on without disturbance its work of training, to get that parent into the habit of thinking that these things are really nothing but phantasms!"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why should not the substance, at least, of this admonition be taken seriously? Is it not much more legitimate and just for children tactfully to familiarize their parents with modern customs, of which they may suspect evil merely because they are new — albeit the analogy to the training of horses playfully holds good — than for Madame de Bellegarde to give her daughter's inclinations the same weight as those of a horse that wants to turn down one road but is pulled by the bit into another? The convictions and advice of a child of thirty are apt to be as beneficial to a parent of sixty, who will give heed to them, as the reciprocal influence of the parent upon the child. The ideal family life is that in which the vivid and unprejudiced perceptions of youthful minds are set off against the ripe experience of age. The mutual corrective influence so resulting may be of very substantial mutual help. But many of us are familiar with instances in which the pig-headed narrowness of a parent has not only held back all family development, but compromised or entirely prevented individual careers of usefulness for the children. The social sentiment is in need of revision, so that a child may be encouraged rather than hindered in throwing off the yoke of superstitious veneration.

The most common argument in support of the duty of filial self-effacement is that a child owes a debt of gratitude for nurture and care during infancy that no sacrifice during mature years can repay. This sordid note becomes very familiar to any one venturing to discuss the ethics of the parento-filial relation. A normal parent and a normal child delight in necessary and reasonable sacrifice for one another's good, out of a great affection. Of course, there is underneath their mutual love a sense of reciprocal duty, made up of complex elements on each side. But the "gratitude" argument would ground the filial attitude on what the lawyers term "quasi-contract." Because a parent devoted herself to a child when the latter was young there is an implied contract that the child shall render similar devotion when the parent is old. Not only would emphasis of this view tend to discourage spontaneity of devotion, to set the Gonerils and Regans to studying whether they had not already rendered an adequate consideration for value received, but the contractual analogy is theoretically unsound. Parents protect and rear their helpless offspring in obedience to the strongest and most universal sentiment of natural duty — a sentiment that is no stronger in humanity than in the lower animals. If there be any contractual relation involved, it is the very general one with society that a parent shall care for his children in return for the care he received from his own parents.

As far as the child is concerned, he has a moral as well as a legal right

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to be reared from a condition of helplessness to one of self-support by those who took the responsibility of bringing him into the world. And a parent, however sensitive he may be, will recognize, if he be also wise and just, that the manifold relations of society necessarily affect his sentimental relation with his child. As a parent, especially if widowed, grows old, she loves her children absorbedly. Her interest in the world is very largely merged in them. They embody her only hold upon the future. To expect such an absorbing affection and interest in return is to hope against nature. And when a parent, either through a conventional sentiment of filial duty, or by coercion, pecuniary or otherwise, succeeds in monopolizing his child, the latter is likely to suffer arrested development and abnormality of spirit.

The illegitimacy of the "gratitude" argument becomes more obvious when we reflect that it is precisely in cases where the strongest grounds for filial gratitude exist that there is least probability of parental usurpation. Under the surviving tradition of parental ownership, the majority of parents, even in democracies, regard their children altogether too much as personal appendages. Even among well-meaning and ordinarily just persons there is a large modicum of unconscious selfishness in the parental attitude. The average *nouveau riche* launches his children from the very cradle into luxurious dissipation as advertisers of his fortune. A father builds up a fanciful career for a son not yet in trousers, and spends years in a struggle with the tastes of another human being in order to make the latter's life realize a proud and selfish dream. Parental arrogation of the right to control the marriages of children is one of the stock themes of the novelist. A child owes gratitude to a parent in proportion as the latter has resisted self-indulgence and displayed self-sacrifice. And a parent who has subordinated self-interest to the child's real good, during tender and formative years, will be the last person to claim an absorbing lien upon his later life.

In his paper on Edmund Burke, Mr. Augustine Birrell, drawing a comparison between Burke and Cardinal Newman, felicitously lays bare the characteristic attitude of ultra-conservatives in all departments. Burke and Newman, as they regarded humanity, were constantly asking themselves, the former, "How are these men to be saved from anarchy?" the latter, "How are these men to be saved from atheism?" Neither Burke nor Newman

"was prepared to rest content with a scientific frontier, an imaginary line. So much did they dread their enemy, so alive were they to the terrible strength of some of his positions, that they could not agree to dispense with the protection afforded by the huge mountains of prejudice and the ancient rivers of custom."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From a similar point of view, some persons may object to giving expression to the sentiments of this paper, on the theory that it is more important that the spirit of the Fifth Commandment should be conserved than that justice should be done, and that it is necessary to cherish the popular fetich of parenthood, in order that the average man shall continue adequately to honor his father and his mother. I believe this contention to be entirely unsound, and that an instructive analogy may be drawn from the history of the emancipation of wives. Looking at the actual results of educating women liberally and of giving wives independent rights of property, nothing can be more amusing than the prophecies of sentimental wiseacres when the innovations were proposed. It was thought that if women were educated as men were, and thus made intellectually independent of their husbands, romantic love and connubial loyalty would vanish from the world; that unless the law continued to sanction a husband's right to spend his wife's last cent, domestic life and social order and grace would become extinct.

As matter of fact, nowhere in the world is conjugal affection more strong than in the newer Western communities of America, where the spirit of democracy has made most radical progress. In that region not only have connubial property relations been placed on a substantially just basis, but in many of the States great progress has been made toward equal political rights for women. The presence of women as companions of their husbands on public occasions, and the prevailing equality and reciprocal respect between spouses, can hardly have failed to strike even superficial observers of life in the Western States. Connubial love is only the more tenacious and enduring for having a rational basis, instead of resting upon a simpering and plastic amiability.

Reciprocal love and sense of duty between parents and children are deeply implanted by nature in normal human beings. It is, if anything, more purblind than it was as to marital devotion, to claim that an artificial sense of obligation is necessary for their preservation. During the agitation for the abolition of slavery in this country, one of the considerations constantly advanced in extenuation of the "peculiar institution" was that the slaves as a class were well treated and contented and had strong affection for their masters. Post-bellum history teems with illustrations that personal devotion was, if anything, strengthened by manumission. Strong affection is, of course, consistent with a relation of actual slavery, or with what is quite substantially the same thing, marital or parental absolutism. But the tendency of equality and freedom of will is to evolve a deeper feeling, a more genuine mutual love.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the chapter on "Religious Conformity" in his essay "On Compromise," Mr. John Morley remarks, in treating of the general duty of a man honestly to avow his beliefs and unbeliefs:

"Now, however great the pain inflicted by the avowal of unbelief, it seems to the present writer that one relationship in life, and one only, justifies us in being silent where otherwise it would be right to speak. This relationship is that between child and parents. Those parents are wisest who train their sons and daughters in the utmost liberty both of thought and speech; who do not instil dogmas into them, but inculcate upon them the sovereign importance of correct ways of forming opinions; who, while never dissembling the great fact that if one opinion is true, its contradictory cannot be true also, but must be a lie and partakes of all the evil qualities of a lie, yet always set them the example of listening to unwelcome opinions with patience and candor. Still all parents are not wise. They cannot all endure to hear of any religious opinions except their own. Where it would give them sincere and deep pain to hear a son or daughter avow disbelief in the inspiration of the Bible and so forth, then it seems that the younger person is warranted in refraining from saying that he or she does not accept such and such doctrines. This, of course, only where the son or daughter feels a tender and genuine attachment to the parent. Where the parent has not earned this attachment, has been selfish, indifferent, or cruel, the title to the special kind of forbearance of which we are speaking can hardly exist. In an ordinary way, however, a parent has a claim on us which no other person in the world can have, and a man's self-respect ought scarcely to be injured if he finds himself shrinking from playing the apostle to his own father and mother. . . . Even in the case of parents, and even though our new creed is but rudimentary, there can be no good reason why we should go further in the way of economy than mere silence. Neither they nor any other human being can possibly have a right to expect us, not merely to abstain from the open expression of dissents, but positively to profess unreal and feigned assents. No fear of giving pain, no wish to soothe the alarms of those to whom we owe much, no respect for the natural clinging of the old to the faith which has accompanied them through honorable lives, can warrant us in saying that we believe to be true what we are convinced is false."

This language is significantly valuable, because it repudiates all figments of "divine right," so to speak, which average sentiment has attached to parenthood. Ordinary democratic justice is recognized: if a parent has not deserved generous treatment, the child is under no pious obligation to render it. As to Mr. Morley's immediate point, it is to be remembered that the essay was written many years ago, when the feeling against what was very arrogantly termed "Infidelity" was much more widespread than at present. As the notion of turpitude in a person's inability to make himself believe what he would like to believe becomes extinct, the illustration from religious conformity will lose its force.

But Mr. Morley's spirit and attitude evince sweet reasonableness. If by self-sacrifice in non-essential matters a child can avert a sensitive pang from a beloved parent, duty and inclination will go hand in hand in the act of indulgence. If, however, a parent can be made happy only

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by the sacrifice of substantial moral scruples, the child must say "no" with the same firmness that parental duty would enjoin were the request to come from an unreasonable child. And there are moral obligations which a person owes to himself and, through himself, to society. A man has no right to surrender a career of serious and honorable usefulness to the narrowness, prejudice, caprice, or selfishness even of a parent. It is his duty to do his duty as he, not his father, sees it. And even in comparative trivialities, the tendency to parental exaction may be so strong and may develop so rankly under indulgence, that non-submission may be an obvious duty for the good of the parent's own soul.

And here, especially if the parent be approaching senility and be disposed to view the exercise of normal independence by the child as an unnatural outrage, the latter may be subjected to a harrowing experience. Lear's wrath may be overlooked as senile dementia, but Lear's reproaches and tears are abstract pathos. As to this phase, a few words of the Autocrat of the Breakfast Table, spoken not in youth but at fourscore "Over the Tea-Cups," may be taken as authoritative and practically helpful:

"Do you say that old age is unfeeling? It has not vital energy enough to supply the waste of the more exhausting emotions. Old Men's Tears, which furnished the mournful title to Joshua Scottow's Lamentations, do not suggest the deepest grief conceivable. A little breath of wind brings down the raindrops which have gathered on the leaves of the tremulous poplars. A very slight suggestion brings the tears from Marlborough's eyes, but they are soon over, and he is smiling again as an allusion carries him back to the days of Blenheim and Malplaquet. Envy not the old man the tranquillity of his existence, nor yet blame him if it sometimes looks like apathy. Time, the inexorable, does not threaten him with the scythe so often as with the sandbag. He does not cut, but he stuns and stupefies."

It is during the advanced years of parents that flagrant instances of filial immolation most numerously occur. It should be remembered that now the former relation of life has been reversed; the child has become, as it were, the parent, and the parent the child. With the blunting of the intellectual perception, the old man or woman tends to become obtuse to the rights of others in like manner as young children. The habit of unremitting and merciless exaction becomes stronger with every year of submission. The sentiment of society should be such as to fortify every person in doing his rational duty both by himself and his parent; and such duty requires that he act toward one in second childhood with the same tenderness, but with much the same firmness, as toward his actual children.

WILBUR LARREMORE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE LATEST STAGE OF LIBRARY DEVELOPMENT.

THE origin, in our country, of the public library movement, which we must not confuse with the free public library movement, is associated with no less a person than Benjamin Franklin, and dates from no less auspicious a year than that which gave birth to the father of his country, the year 1732. During that year the Philadelphia Library Company, "mother of all the subscription libraries of North America," to use the words of the distinguished founder, was organized. Exactly ten years later, little over a century and a half ago, the first legislation that is concerned with the American library took place, resulting in the acts of incorporation of society libraries. The latest library legislation which has national significance bears the date of 1898. Between these two dates, 1742 and 1898, several stages of library legislation, all of the greatest significance, and all playing an important rôle in library history, might be mentioned.

The first legislation following the incorporation of society libraries was the passage in 1835 of laws establishing district-school libraries, the pioneer State being New York. Twenty-one States followed the example of the Empire State, and very great interest was aroused. Still, on the whole, the period representing the stage of library history inaugurated by New York may be considered a failure, though it directly preceded the organization of free public libraries. The next legislation, which occurred in 1849, is the most epochal of our library history. We call it the most epochal, because it gave us the law which through taxation placed libraries on a firm basis. The first State to pass an act to the effect that libraries be maintained like other municipal, county, State, and national institutions was New Hampshire, which State again showed her progressiveness, only a few years ago, by requiring all her towns and cities to establish and maintain public libraries, by taxation. The year 1849, then, is the year which marks the beginning of the free public library. Since then several States, Massachusetts being the first, have passed laws, which provide that towns and cities be encouraged and assisted by the State in the matter of establishing and maintaining libraries.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The fifteen States that have followed in the footsteps of Massachusetts have accomplished excellent results.

In concluding this point, I should like to hazard the prophecy that future historians will regard as one of the most important laws in library history that which was passed by the Ohio Legislature in the spring of 1898. This act, which was made possible by the heirs of the late J. S. Brumback, who set aside a portion of his estate to be used in the erection of a county library, permits county commissioners to bind a county to maintain a library by taxation. The Brumback Library, dedicated and opened to the people of Van Wert County, Ohio, on the first day of the twentieth century, is America's first county library. That other counties of Ohio and the counties of other States will imitate the example of Van Wert County in the establishment of county libraries seems certain from the very great interest that the Brumback Library is awakening in the country.

Fifty years ago, after an existence of 118 years the American library had made comparatively little progress. In the middle of the century just closed there were only some 600 libraries, most of them leading a precarious existence, and with an aggregate total of not many more than 2,000,000 books. The glaring contrast between the early fifties of the last century and the present day is manifest when we mention the fact that America has to-day four libraries which have more books than had all the libraries of the country half a century ago. To-day we can boast of nearly 8,000 libraries, many of which are models of architectural beauty and skill; and the number of volumes contained in these "secular temples" is almost 50,000,000. Besides, we have, at the beginning of this new century, two flourishing library journals, each of them a product of the last fifty years; three well-equipped library schools with courses ranging from one to three years, and already having 500 graduates; two national and many State and district library associations; library commissions in seventeen States; travelling libraries, the outcome of a movement scarcely a decade old, in forty-two States; and travelling pictures. Other innovations, all of comparatively recent origin, are special rooms to accommodate children and the blind, library advertising, coöperation of librarians with teachers of the public schools, access to shelves, coöperative cataloguing, and interlibrary loans and exchanges.

Those who have followed the deliberations of our national, State, and district associations, during the past few years, have noted that the one absorbing problem has been: How can the people, young and old, be best reached and most benefited by our libraries? The problem of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reaching the people of our towns and cities has been in a very great degree solved. The problem of reaching the people in the rural districts, first conceived, and partially solved, by the distinguished librarian Melvil Dewey, in the travelling library movement inaugurated by him a few years ago, has been nearly solved by the late J. S. Brumback, donor of America's first county library. As the Brumback Library is a new institution and represents a new stage of our library development, I shall give a brief description of its *modus operandi.*

The admirable feature of the Brumback Library is the fact that it is a county library, its privileges being extended to the people of the country and of the town and city alike. If we look into the history of the philanthropies of our nation, we shall find that they have almost exclusively benefited the people of the town and city. Who has done anything to make life happier, better, and sweeter on the farm? The reports of our recent decennial census inform us that during the past decade thousands of people have migrated from the country to the town and city. What has been the result? Unhappily it has been that many of the best farm districts to be found anywhere in the country have to-day fewer people than they had ten years ago, although our nation has made, during the past decade, a gain of over ten millions. If we follow our country boys when they leave the farm, we find many of them yielding to the temptations of their new surroundings and ultimately becoming drunkards. If we follow our country girls when they seek homes in the town and city, we find that not a few of them finally reach the brothel. Moreover, how many of the inmates of our insane asylums do statistics show to be from the country! The unattractiveness, monotony, and drudgery of farm life have sent more country boys to the saloon, more country girls to the brothel, and more hard-working fathers and mothers from the farm to the asylum than is generally known. Statistics show that the fate of those leaving the rural districts is often unutterably sad.

It is well enough to talk of the beauties of nature and to fancy that the occupants of the country home, being children of nature, never weary of contemplating her charms. Still, one grows tired at last of an exclusive nature diet. What the farmer wants is a little more art with his nature. He already has, in many places, the telephone, the electric line, and free postal delivery, which bring him into more intimate touch with the rest of the world and render his isolation much more tolerable. However, there are other benefits that can be given him, which the cities and towns of our country enjoy. Why, for example, should not he, like the resident of the town and city, have the advantages of the best litera-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ture of the world? This, so far, has been largely denied to him. When the family on the farm once begins to share in the privileges of the family in the town and city, we shall find that the migration from country to town and city will cease and American life will become far more healthful. It is an incontrovertible fact that the health of our national life is very greatly dependent on that of our rural life. This is just as true as the other statement, more frequently heard, that the prosperity of the nation depends on that of the farmer. If the American people will endeavor, by all possible means, to remove the special elements of discontent which characterize the home of the tiller of the soil, they will do their country a great service.

The method adopted by the Brumback Library to bring its books to all parts of Van Wert County is easily explained. The library itself—which represents a value of $50,000, receives an annual income of fully $6,500, and has a stack-room capacity, when all available room shall be used, of 100,000 volumes—is located in the city of Van Wert, the county seat of Van Wert County. Fortunately, this city is located in the centre of the county, which contains in round numbers 275,000 acres and has a population of nearly 35,000. Besides the central library there are ten branch libraries, which are so situated that every resident of the county is within easy access of the library itself or of one of its branches. The ten branches have a unique feature in the form of what may be called a travelling-library system, and are also in direct communication with the central library. The ten branch libraries are placed in the more important stores or offices of the villages of the county, where they are excellently managed, by virtue of the fact that those having charge of them are given nominal salaries.

To start the travelling-library system, the library trustees purchased 1,000 books, most of them entirely new, which were sent to the ten branch libraries, 100 to each branch. After keeping its 100 books two months, each branch sends them to one of the other nine branches, and receives a second 100 from one of its neighbors to take their place. So the books pass from branch to branch until each branch has had the thousand books, when they are returned to the central library, and catalogued. In the meantime, another 1,000 books have been purchased and put in readiness to repeat the experience of the first thousand.

I have already said that the branch libraries are in direct communication with the central library. By this I mean that all persons securing books from the central library through any of the branches are subject to no other rules than those imposed by the central library. Cards can

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be had from the central library only; but persons holding cards may secure books anywhere in the county. The more important papers of the county have published lists of all the books contained in the library, and continue to publish the titles of new books as soon as they have been catalogued.

During the few months since the Brumback Library opened its doors to the people of Van Wert County it has been conclusively proved to be a very gratifying success. Unusual interest is manifested, and books go every day to readers in even the most remote townships. It is the purpose of the Brumback Library to accomplish in Van Wert County what some of our more progressive city libraries are already accomplishing in the cities. First and foremost, the interests of the whole county are considered by the trustees and librarians in every move they make. The county's various business, social, and intellectual activities are promoted by selecting the latest and most authoritative works on all subjects, and bringing them to the attention of those who most appreciate them. The tastes and inclinations of every class of people are studied; and as far as these pertain to the province of a library and are deemed practicable they are gratified. As the great university strives to adapt itself to the many who come under its instruction and also to raise them to a higher plane of usefulness, so the Brumback Library strives to adapt itself to the people of Van Wert County, and to raise them to a higher level. If in the years to come the Brumback Library can be credited with having made homes happier through its influences, the purpose of the founder will have been attained. ERNEST IRVING ANTRIM.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEGRO AND OUR NEW POSSESSIONS.

MANY theories have been proposed for the solution of the Negro problem. It is declared by some that it is a question of the South, as most of the Negroes are found in that section, and that, therefore, it should be settled there, and with reference to the people who will be most largely affected by the Negro's presence; that his education and life should be adapted to his environment; that any education tending to lift him out of his sphere, as it is put — referring, of course, to the higher training — is both harmful and destructive to the interests of both races. These views are based upon the assumption that the Negro is always to remain in the South, and that he is always to occupy a subordinate place — a presumption without an adequate basis of fact.

Colonization is offered as another solution. The black man is advised to migrate westward, to take up unoccupied territory there, to settle down, and to work out his own destiny to the best of his ability. In this way, it is argued, he can best develop the powers within him. Again, it is proposed that the race leave the congested districts of the South — scatter, diffuse itself over the whole country, and, in a sense, lose race identity, by mingling with the whites, as far as possible. And still another theory is more vigorously pressed than any hitherto mentioned. It is declared that this will produce a change operating for the good of all concerned. Its advocates unhesitatingly assert that it is best to confine the Negro largely to industrial lines, to set a limit to his education, to reserve the higher training for a few picked out here and there as capable to receive such instruction, and to make of these leaders; thus encouraging the race, as it is claimed, to maintain its place in the labor ranks.

No matter, however, what theory is proposed by which the many problems concerning the Negro are sought to be solved, and no matter what individuals have accomplished, no one will deny that the race as a whole cannot make substantial progress unless there are outlets for its capabilities and acquisitions. This fact brings up one of the most discouraging features in contemplating the subject — that here, in this coun-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

try, it makes no difference what the Negro has done or may do in any line whatever, he finds few opportunities for the exercise of his gifts and powers. He must simply hope on and do the thing he can find to do next him. Hope deferred maketh the heart sick, is a saying proved true in life again and again; and it is only owing to the characteristic good spirits of the race that many of these who are ready for advanced lines of labor can sturdily hold to the thought that there may be a future in which they shall share along these lines. It is this that helps the plucky ones to push on and find niches for themselves here and there, defying dislodgment from a position that brain, and not brawn, has enabled them to fill.

As I have said elsewhere, at different times, the Negro finds everything against him just now. He meets boycott, refusal to work by his side, and closed doors of labor unions. He sees plainly a determined stand to force him back from the vantage-ground he has gained and a resolve to circumscribe him, in every effort he puts forth, and to keep him within his "sphere"; where he may do only those things "of which he is capable from inherited aptitudes," as one puts it, referring to servile or industrial lines. It is a most discouraging state of things that confronts him on every hand. It is assuredly the darkest period in the progress of the race since the Civil War, not excepting the dark days of Reconstruction; for then he had more sympathy from those who looked on and who stood by him. More forbearance was exercised toward him then, and there was a greater desire to forward all his aspirations. In short, his friends were many more than now. To-day he is largely left to himself, to make his way all alone, with the odds greatly against him.

So, with proscription, disfranchisement, prejudice, hate of the lower classes all over the land, Jim Crow cars set apart as his portion without reference to individual status, whether educated or uneducated, refined or vicious, with hotels and places of amusement closed against him, with restrictions in civil and legal rights, and with lynchings on mere suspicion, how can the race look upon the present hour other than as the darkest? Such is the situation, and no one feels it more keenly, experiences more humiliation, or chafes more under the continual ban than does the educated Negro, the man or woman of culture who has fine sensibilities and high aspirations, and who wishes to make of life what he or she has been taught should be made of life — the best possible of every faculty given by the Creator.

A crisis seems to be at hand, and well may it claim the serious attention of friends and of foes — all who are interested in social and eco-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nomic problems. The complications are great, and the race, with this growing enmity against it, is thrown into a dangerous state of unrest. It is a wonder that under the circumstances the balance is kept so true — that the Negro remains the loyal, patriotic citizen that he does. But this true balance is most largely due to the wisdom of the leaders, the good sense of the higher classes, the exercise of judgment and sage counsel by the trained men and women of the race, those who keep faith and constitute the ballast bringing about proper self-control. Thus there is patient waiting to see if light will not come out of darkness, if salvation will not be afforded from what seems a hopeless situation. But while the country at large is thinking as to what it shall do with him, the Negro is feeling that something must be done and done by himself. He is thinking deeply on the situation, and his thought is turning on how he may better race conditions.

As none of the theories advanced looks toward anything else than keeping the Negro in a quasi-peasant stage, or in absolute subjection, or deporting him, they naturally do not find favor with the race at large. Colonization, meaning the isolation of the people as a whole, I firmly believe will be detrimental to any rapid advancement. But I do think that a certain amount of emigration would be advantageous; and in this connection I do not think we have entertained seriously enough the possibility of using our new possessions as an opportunity for the American Negro. It seems to me that this is forced upon the race just now, when the best in it are suffering more or less from the keen humiliation incident upon the stress of the situation and the present pressure that bars advancement everywhere. This consideration seems of vital importance.

I have had occasion to say, at other times, that a curious coincidence is to be found in connection with the three wars in which this country has engaged since 1861. In each case it is to be noted that the consideration of the darker races of the world has formed a prominent feature. While this evidently has its significance relating to the work Providence has given this land as a Christian land to do, in close connection are to be found certain indisputable facts relative to the race resident within its borders.

Despite all that is said about the lack of progress of the Negro along certain lines, it is true that he has had here the opportunities to work out a higher civilization of his own, and he has not failed to grasp them. The higher classes of the race are the results of this opportunity, and they have gathered such strength that there is a peculiar fitness in making

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

use of their acquisitions among the darker peoples of our newly acquired territory. It may be true that in many ways the future may show, as Mr. Fortune says in the New York "Age," that the more dark peoples that we have under our flag the better it will be for those of us who came out of the forge and fire of American slavery. There will be outlets for the American Negro and a swifter uplifting because of interest for these new peoples.

Advices from Luzon assert unreservedly that there is a great field for the Negro in the Philippines. The reason for such assertion is given by one whose position makes it possible for him to speak with authority. He says:

"Though there are not many Negroes in this part of the world, those that are here are doing exceedingly well. They have no race prejudice to combat from the native, and when compared with white men of equal attainments they possess the vantage-ground over the white brother."

The same authority goes on further to say:

"Again, the white man everywhere seeks to oppress, when possible, the dark races; and differing from the white man in this, the native soon regards his dark Occidental brother in the light of possessing affinity with himself, be he rich or poor. The Filipinos and the Japanese especially — these two hate white people most — receive the colored man with open arms. They would deny him no opportunity — this is not speculation — and are delighted when they see or hear of a great man of color."

Now it seems to me that whether this state of things is pleasing to white people or not, this does signify much in the way of escape from some of the unpleasant situations hedging the race about in this country.

The same correspondent puts it thus:

"If the colored man of the United States will be benefited in any way by the acquisition of territory and new markets by the country, it is manifestly certain it will be in the direction of enlarged opportunities."

He feels certain of these as "evident rich fields presented by the Oriental countries to American colored men of education, push, and energy." In fact, he declares from observation that while this is especially true of the Philippines, it is also true of every country, state, or dependency of the Orient, as Japan, China, Siam, Java, Ceylon. We, here in America, do know that many of these same foreigners try to be contemptuous of the Negro when upon American soil, so that they may not be classed in any way with a despised people. It is a matter of self-preservation, of convenience, to these foreigners; and so when here they follow the fashion of the hoodlum element and attempt to show scorn

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whenever they come in contact with a person of color. But at home they do differently.

These facts, as presented to us by one who is where he can judge accurately — on native soil and under un-American conditions — are not the observations of solely one man. There are other shrewd observers in the new possessions, who see the same thing, express the same opinion, and ask the same pertinent questions. Why not lead the Negro in America to see this too? Why not open up the way for him to have a share in doing something for these color kinsfolk?

And why should not the educated Negro, the capable Negro, take part in the movement that has just begun in the Philippines, in Cuba, in Porto Rico, in Hawaii even, for the general good of the governed in these islands? A foreign tongue need be no obstacle. The Negro has a natural aptitude for language. African history will bear me out in this statement, which is corroborated by my own experience with natives from the isles of the sea and from Africa. It does seem, as previously intimated, that the evolutionary process the race has gone through in this country would make such men and women of color of inestimable value in undertaking the evolutions which must take place in the attempt to lead out to the light and on to strength the weaker, dark races of the world, wherever found. The cry comes from the Philippines, from the natives: Why does not the United States send out colored men as school teachers, and in various other official capacities? It would seem wisdom for the government to heed this cry, and to yield to the wish in the effort that is being put forth to bring these peoples under law and government represented by the American flag. The Filipinos especially, we are told, "want Occidentalism, but want it to come through hands of a like complexion to theirs."

Under the present conditions, when the call has come for such a large number of instructors in various capacities, the question forces itself upon public attention: Why not make large choice from among members of the Negro race in America for the purpose? There are plenty of both sexes fitted for this work. With the knowledge of the limited opportunities in this country, it would seem that sincerity of purpose to help solve the race problem would demand that such be given every possible consideration, and most especially when it is known that in these possessions the sought-for "Occidentalism" would be preferable coming through such channels.

It has been frequently stated that the Negro has not the "colonization instinct"; and his failures in Africa to make a way for himself are

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

brought forward as proof. This is doubtless true. The race has not gone far enough on its road to imbibe this spirit to the extent of making it a success. But a movement looking toward our new territory need not partake of the colonization feature pure and simple, which, as before said, I should not deem advantageous if viewed as isolation. That would be a misfortune. But what is presented as most advantageous is the encouragement to extend the Negro's outlook by personal inducements offered where there is something besides pure savagery and barbarism to contend with.

From Luzon the word comes:

"Some time ago I made an investigation among the Filipinos to determine to what extent their love for the American Negro went, and found that colonization of American blacks among them would be highly acceptable, while white people as ranchers among them could only become established by having a regiment of soldiers stationed at each white ranchman's back."

This sentiment seems to pervade every stratum of life there. And through it may not this very idea of the lack of colonization instinct be rightly gauged by trial under circumstances that must differ from those surrounding the emigrants to Africa? With such a sentiment prevalent, it would seem that here is an outlet that ought to find acceptance in some way among the thoughtful ones of the race, where the Negro's industrial as well as his intellectual training may be utilized with decided benefit to the present generation and may help on marvellously future generations. The German experiment in Africa, of utilizing trained Negroes from America, is one that might fittingly be tried in our new territory, which needs development along the same practical lines to bring it to a higher degree of civilization.

This is not said with any idea that the race must give up all thought of a future as a race right here in the United States; but a movement looking toward these new possessions would simplify the problem in a measure by reducing numbers and showing that the Negro can act for himself. I feel confident that the present dark outlook will give way in time to a brighter one — that the frenzy of hate and passionate prejudice will pass away. If not, the white race will undoubtedly reap a sowing it has little expected. But it is time for the Negro to reach out individually, as some have already done and as many should do, to take courage to face new things, to weigh, then dare (*Wägen, denn wagen*), as the motto goes.

It is not a fanatic rush of all classes into these new fields that will better matters either here or there. These Filipinos are not an unedu-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cated people as a whole. They are not barbarous, uncivilized, poor, as a class. We have plenty of authority to the contrary. Among them, it is said, are some of the ripest scholars the world has. We cannot call them barbarians indiscriminately. The wealth of some is dazzling, and in those Oriental countries there are not a few dark-skinned millionaires. Then, again, we face the fact that these same dark people are in the trade world, first and foremost, competing with the lighter-colored races, showing a sharpness in business matters which in reality makes them marvels of that trade world. So those who would take advantage of this outlook are the men who can do something, manage something, create something.

In the idea existing among these people that the American colored man is a distant relative of theirs — and, above all, that he is not a white man, which for him "is a free passport without credentials," lies the great opportunity for the thrifty, energetic Negro. These same people have no hope, it is asserted, in a white man's country; no more, perhaps, than has the American Negro here, in those sections where the determination to dominate him is tenaciously held. But these isles cannot be said to be the white man's country, because for centuries such has been the mixture that the color line is not known — it is not drawn unless the idea is imported from those countries where prejudice has rank hold.

The color question which Spain, with other countries, was called upon to face long ago led to one thing: despite her treachery, oppression, cruelty, and misrule, she did not humiliate these peoples because of the admixture of blood of darker races. The color question should never be allowed to be injected into that part of the world. There we find places where the dark face may meet with humane treatment, with civility, even with deference, if the manhood back of it deserves it; and there this feeling of equality should be kept in its purity. It may be, as has been said, that it is a good thing for all that more of the dark races are under the American flag. There may be a lesson for all in this fact — a lesson that nothing else will teach — a lesson that man's inhumanity to man cannot forever continue, especially that inhumanity based upon color and assuming a contemptuous, dominant attitude toward it. Can there not be one place on the face of the globe where the white man does not seek complete control; where a channel may be opened up to give the broadest possible opportunity for the strengthening of the weaker races; where black manhood can stand erect and unhindered, and can enlarge respect for itself, or even create it where it does not exist? But to enter hopefully this door, open to the man of color, two things are necessary — aid

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and proper treatment from those who have it in their power to help or to hinder.

It would seem that our war with Spain was providential, aside from humanitarian grounds; that the great Ruler of the universe, in permitting this country to gain continuously such signal victories over the Spanish people, intended that, despite its prejudice and race hatred, it should take a leading part in the solution of some of the great problems pertaining to the darker races of mankind. Because of its Christian civilization it assuredly has the vantage-ground for taking a prominent part in this direction. It cannot honorably recede from the initiative it has already taken; and as a sequence it must handle the problems thrust upon it, with the acquisitions of these new millions, in a way that shall command, on the one hand, the respect, or, on the other, the condemnation, of the civilized world. It must deal with these people justly or unjustly. To do the latter is to show itself unequal to the task of coping with the situation; it is to weaken it at home and abroad.

The selection of the Negro for campaigning purposes in this new territory was a wise one. The only thing to be regretted is that more are not thus employed in the foreign military service of the nation. But the hope of the future is that this will be brought about. The black man has proved himself not only a brave soldier, but a patriot as well, in spite of the treatment accorded him. We need only cite as proof of this his readiness at all times to take up arms in his country's defence, and his career at San Juan and El Caney. Campaigning in Cuba, Porto Rico, or the Philippines gives the black man an opportunity to see and study the country for himself, to study its people as he could not under other circumstances. He is doing it, and this very knowledge gained from experience constitutes a new era, the dawn of a brighter day, for the race and its descendants. Though the Negro himself at first looked upon the idea of sending black troops to these new countries as an attempt at expatriation, yet there is hardly one of the race to-day who does not see in this new movement a great amount of good to come to those with whom these soldiers are allied at home. To my personal knowledge not a few of the best of these soldiers propose to stay in the Philippines, and to start out in life there. This of itself will have its influence upon others in America. Gradually the adventurous spirit will develop itself.

In connection with this, it sounds more like a prophecy than anything else, when we recur to the words of that gallant old soldier, Gen. Thomas J. Morgan, who knew well what it was to command Negro

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

troops, and who did not hesitate to advocate their employment. In the early days of the Spanish war, he said:

"If the United States has really entered upon an era of colonization or of taking under its protection the West Indian and Philippine Islands, we must be prepared for the necessity of a large army of occupation. Such an army could with advantage be made up largely, if not exclusively, of Negro soldiers. They would be better suited for tropical or semi-tropical climates, would be more contented than white men in that far-away service, and would not be objectionable to the native inhabitants of the islands in either ocean, so that there seems to be no special reason why there should not be given to the Negroes at least a fair opportunity to show what soldierly qualities they possess and what fitness they have for official positions."[1]

Gen. Morgan has touched vital points. Fair trials only are desired. A chance to determine what the black man can do when out from under the stress of prejudice is necessary to the highest development of the powers within. Let the black man have this chance under conditions which obtain nowhere in this country exactly the same. Let him be encouraged along lines that promise opportunity, and we feel confident that much of this present unrest will be a thing of the past and that his future will be assured as it cannot now be in view of existing conditions in this country.

W. S. SCARBOROUGH.

[1] "The Independent," June 30, 1898.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SOME CHINESE TRAITS.

WHILE China is as autocratic as Russia, she is, at the same time, the most democratic country in the world. This may seem a paradox, but, at the worst, the Chinese Government is a patriarchal despotism. In the village the head man rules as a father would rule a family. Lawsuits are abhorred. There are no lawyers, no jury trials. Equity governs the judgments of the courts. I knew of a case in Shanghai in which there was a finding for the plaintiff; but because his conduct had not been perfectly just, the amount assessed in his favor was ordered to be paid to a charitable institution.

If a magistrate fails in his duty, he is set upon by a mob and dragged from his chair, and the insignia of his office are removed, especially his official boots. The gods are treated in like manner. They are put out in the sunshine in times of drought that they may see for themselves the inconvenience of the hot weather, and during rains which last too long they are lashed with whips as a punishment.

High and low are imbued with superstition. No two houses in Peking are set on the same line. One is always farther back or farther forward than its neighbor. The reason for this allocation is that it is believed that the evil spirits cannot turn a corner, and that when they get started they must continue in a straight line, and so go out into space, and be lost. Little clay dogs are placed on all the ridges of the houses, with wide-open mouths, to catch the evil spirits as they approach them. The chief function of the great Almanac, which is published by the Government every year, and controls Chinese action in every particular, is to name the lucky days for doing every act in life — particularly for marriages. A dog is supposed to be eating up the moon at the time of its eclipse; and the population of the Empire turns out, beating gongs and tin pans to drive him away. Several years ago, at Tientsin, a wretched little water snake was caught in the Peiho River, and the populace took it to a temple and worshipped it as the water god. Li Hung Chang attended and worshipped with the others. When asked if he

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

really believed that the snake was a water god, he said that, whether he did or not, the people did, and it was best to humor them.

After all, in considering the subject of superstition, we must remember that it prevails to some extent in all nations. In our own country people generally prefer to see the new moon over their right shoulder, and to have at the time some silver in their pockets. If the salt is upset, some of it is thrown over the left shoulder to do away with the bad omen. It is bad luck to pass a funeral, and ill-fate also threatens if a black cat crosses your path. The theatre proprietor implicitly believes that if a cross-eyed man enters the house early in the evening there will be no audience that night. We have a large religious society based on faith cure; and in the West ladies of this faith recently wrecked drug stores because they believed that drugs were deleterious.

While I was at Peking several riots occurred on account of missionaries being charged with killing infants, for the purpose of using their eyes to make medicine. This was the actual and only cause of the celebrated riots at Tientsin in 1870, during which thirteen Sisters of Charity were torn to pieces by the mob, and the French Consul, a young Russian, and the wife of the latter were murdered. A few years ago a riot occurred in a town on the Yangtze, because a missionary lady put her hand on the head of a boy in the street. The boy immediately fell down in a pretended fit, claiming that he was bewitched. A riot ensued in which two foreigners were murdered and all the foreign property was destroyed. When the diplomatic body discussed this question with the members of the Tsung Li Yamen, we were astonished to find that some of the members actually avowed that they had believed that the members of dead children were used to make medicine.

The remedy proposed by the Yamen was that the asylums for young children should be abolished. Indeed, that remedy ought to be seriously considered; because no people are more tenacious of ideas once conceived than the Chinese; and a riot may at any time occur if the death of infants ensues soon after their admission to an asylum. In 1896, I believe, a scoundrel, whom the missionaries had offended in a town on the Yangtze, sought revenge by burying the body of a dead child in their compound. He then accused the missionaries of kidnapping and of killing the child; and he led a party to the place where he had buried the body. Immediately a terrible riot arose, during which the missionaries had to flee for their lives, and all their property was destroyed. After things had quieted down, a legal investigation was held, at which it conclusively appeared that the man had himself buried the body in the mis-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sionary compound, for the sake of inciting violence against its occupants. The man was condemned to death, and, singularly enough, the missionaries tried to save his life because he was the brother of a great friend of theirs; but he was executed.

That very many infants do die in the asylums is undoubtedly true; nevertheless, the kindest and most efficient care is taken of them. The object of the nuns in receiving them is primarily to save their souls by administering the rite of baptism. With this idea in view, they receive infants in the last gasp of life. If they survive, they are tenderly nurtured; and when they reach a marriageable age the boys are married to the girls. Of course, families of those who are thus married are devoted Catholics. They have never known any other religion. This is the chief mode of proselytism of the Catholic Church. In 1886 I went through "L'Asile de la Sainte Enfance" at Hongkong. I asked the Lady Superior how many infants were received every year, and she said 1,100. I then inquired how many of them survived, and she said 100. We went into a very clean and nicely furnished room where, in little cribs, were found about a dozen newly received infants who were sucking milk from india-rubber bottles. I said, "Surely you will save all these," and she answered that they would all die. The Protestants generally do not establish infant asylums. I know of but one in the Empire, and that is in charge of the American Episcopal Mission near Shanghai.

It is, of course, very much to be regretted that the traditional antagonism between the Catholics and Protestants should find a field for its exercise in the Far East; but it exists. In a place not far from Swatow there was actual fighting between the adherents of the two religions, and one man was killed. In this particular case it has never been settled which party was to blame for bringing on the fight; but I believe that the Protestants finally raised money to be paid to the relatives of the dead man. Money settles everything in China. When the adherents of the new religion get to fighting, the Chinese are inclined to keep hands off. They are besieged by the representatives of the antagonistic parties, and are afraid to do anything.

A rather curious case happened, during my time, in the Province of Shantung. A number of poor people, who were under the religious control of our missionaries, joined together to build a chapel. A subscription paper was circulated, and one individual subscribed a liberal amount. A lot was bought, and the chapel was built, and after the congregation had worshipped in it for a considerable time, the individual mentioned was

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

turned out of the church for immorality. As soon as this event happened he turned Catholic. His next step was to declare that the lot on which this chapel stood belonged to him, and he accordingly proceeded to donate it to the Catholics.

The terrible row to which this proceeding gave rise is almost inconceivable. The matter was reported to the French and American Ministers at Peking. The Catholic priest came in person to urge his claim. The American Minister represented to the Yamen that in no civilized land could a man subscribe money to buy a lot, and induce other people to subscribe for the same purpose, and then, after the lot was bought, claim the title to it. The doctrine of estoppel prevails. Still, fear of the French induced the Yamen to refuse to decide the question. It was then demanded that the matter be left to the courts. This was done; and there was a trial, followed by two appeals, but nothing was decided. The Viceroy then sent two Commissioners to the locality to settle the question. They proposed to pay to the original congregation the value of the chapel, and to provide in addition another lot; and these terms were accepted. Thus ended a controversy which threatened to cause civil war.

I presume corruption exists more or less in every government in the world, and among all peoples as well; but in China it is legalized, as it were, by immemorial usage. Be it said to the credit of the Chinese merchant that he is as honest as any of his class anywhere in the world. All the banks and all the Americans who do business with China corroborate this assertion. The manager of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation asserted at Shanghai a few years ago that the bank had done business of hundreds of millions of pounds sterling with the Chinese, and had never lost a penny. Nevertheless, among the officials and common people a system of what is called "squeezing" largely prevails. Your "boy," your cook — in fact, all the servants — will charge you a percentage on everything they buy; and they will deduct something from the price of everything they sell. There is a system in Peking called "boarding with the cook," in accordance with which you pay so much a day per head for everything except groceries and such articles as are furnished from the store-room. Persons who desire to be economical try this plan, but it comes to exactly the same thing as if you paid the cook's bills yourself.

The members of the Tsung Li Yamen (Foreign Office) receive about 1,000 taels per annum, or 770 of our dollars, as salary. Yet there is not one of them whose income is less than 30,000 taels a year, while the head of the Yamen, Prince Ching — who is now acting as Com-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

missioner with Li Hung Chang — receives 250,000 taels. This money is all paid each year in three instalments by the office-holders. Li Hung Chang had a man stationed at Peking who did nothing whatever except pay money to thirty high officials three times a year. The Hoppo (Treasurer) at Canton keeps out of the moneys collected by him 300,000 taels every year. All the world knows that he does it, and nobody thinks it is wrong.

The head eunuch at the palace in 1894 made enormous sums of money by compelling persons who sent presents to the Empress Dowager, on the occasion of her attaining sixty years of age, to pay for the privilege of having them delivered. Sometimes he received as much as 4,000 taels for passing in a single present. A young friend of mine, who had been appointed an expectant official, had to pay 4,000 taels before he could get into the palace, where he was compelled to go to return thanks to the Emperor for his appointment. In my own Legation, when a new building for the offices was erected, the servants forced the contractors to pay them 500 taels.

When ladies buy silks or other goods in the Chinese city they are asked by the merchant whether they intend taking them home in their carts. He says that if he has to send them he must charge ten per cent more than the price, because he will have to pay that sum to the gatekeeper. Every curio man who brings his wares into the Legation pays the servants a fixed percentage on all his sales. Thus a fund is created which at stated intervals is distributed among all the servants according to their rank. When I left Peking I sold off my property, and, among other things, a mule. The Mafu sold the latter for $50, and brought me $40. He was not at all abashed when I explained to him that the cut was rather heavy. He said that it was the custom of the country.

It is customary for every distinguished visitor to pay money to the servants of his host. There is paid on these occasions as much as fifteen or twenty taels. When you dine with any one a sum of money is given to you with which to pay *douceurs* to the servants; and when you give the return dinner you are expected to pay a similar sum of money. On one occasion, when I dined at Canton with the Viceroy, he sent me $25 to be given to my bearers and servants. I found that I should have to pay the same amount when he dined with me; so the two compradors arranged that the money should be returned, and that I should pay nothing on the occasion of the return dinner.

Owing to this system of gifts to servants, wages remain very low. Cumshaws are paid by every guest, and the proceeds of "squeezes" mate-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rially increase the gains of the servants. Were it not for these incidental profits, it would be impossible for them to live. As a rule, they receive only six Mexican dollars (about $3 of our money) a month, and they find themselves. They all have families, and they raise them very respectably. In the Legation we had men who had been there for thirty years, and their sons as they grew up were also thus employed.

It is curious that the pseudo-progressives, the aerial and sublimated friends of a progress which rests on fancy and wind instead of on real benefaction to humanity, should share the prejudices of the Chinese officials. The Chinese, like some of our orators who talk so glibly about "Commercialism," have never understood why foreign governments are eternally worrying over trade. As a government, China has nothing to do with commerce. That subject is for the merchants, and not for the statesmen, to handle.

I once went to the Tsung Li Yamen to request that a government exhibit be sent to the Chicago Exposition. I showed to the Yamen that their teas, silks, embroideries, old armor, and many other things would be splendidly advertised by being displayed in Chicago. Some stress was laid on the fact that Ceylon tea was driving the Chinese product out of the market, and that strenuous steps should be taken, both to improve the cultivation of tea and to bring it prominently into public notice. The only answer I got was that the Chinese Government had nothing to do with trade: that was for the merchants to attend to. They would allow goods intended for the Exposition to be sent abroad without paying any export duty, and that was all they would do.

All over the East — until Japan recently reformed herself — to be a merchant was a degradation. In China the soldier also has been under the ban. The literati were, and are, the heroes of government and society. When a man had passed the civil service examinations he might be an admiral or a general, though he had never seen a ship or put a squadron into the field. A little knowledge of the writings of Confucius and Mencius made him fit to rule a province or to represent his country abroad. He knew no more of commerce than an unborn babe. He wore finger-nails six inches long, to show that he had nothing to do with business or labor.

According to a certain modern school of orators, we are coming to the Chinese idea that the Government should never do anything that tends to promote or increase the commerce of the country. The function of government is simply to elevate man; but it must not undertake this process by furnishing good dollars, or by opening up new markets for agricultural products or manufactured goods. Indeed, the mere

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

use of the word "market" is in its effect like shaking a red flag at a bull. Any allusion to "markets" is tabooed. We must turn all our attention to the sublime, but entirely undefined, process of elevating individuals. Unfortunately, we are not told how we can accomplish this feat. As nobody disputes that education should be as free and general as the air, there can be no controversy on this point. As everybody wants to make money, no difference can arise on that question — except that the Government, following the Chinese idea, should do nothing whatever to increase the facilities of the people for bettering their condition.

These same people, however, who so vigorously attack "Commercialism," lie awake at night to try to find out something that the Government should do in the way of interfering with the business, private habits, and customs of the people. A great party wants the Government to buy, own, and operate all the railroads. The forefather of that party wanted the Government to receive all the products of the country in enormous warehouses, and issue interest-bearing bonds to the owners — a system which China tried two thousand years before Christ, and repudiated.

The most prominent motto in the recent political campaign hung from the festoons on Broadway, and read: "The whole trade of the East is not worth the life of one American boy." This declaration was considered peculiarly apposite and touching. Yet, tested by common sense, it is supremely ridiculous. Nobody wants an American boy, or any other boy, to die; but, if an enlisted soldier dies in any hemisphere while in the performance of his duty, he dies for his country. Whether he dies in battle, or is prostrated by fever, he will rank for all time among those of whom it is said that it is sweet and honorable to die for one's country.

We had better disband our army if the doctrine is to prevail that the soldier shall not take the ordinary risks of the service wherever his Government may order him to go. As well might we have said that all our Western country was not worth one soldier's life, and have left it to the Indians. Under these conditions we should have to abolish the railroads, because they kill people every day. We ought never to put down a riot at the risk of taking human life. Let the property in cities be destroyed by the mob — what are commercial properties in comparison with the value of a human life? The mind of the man who does not take some pleasure in the increasing greatness of his country is distorted and unbalanced. Such a man worships a party more than he worships his country.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Is it possible that any respectable number of Americans will account it as either disgraceful or injurious that we have become the greatest exporting country in the world? Is it possible that any man will regret that the Alabama and South Carolina cotton-mills were, until the recent disturbances, running night and day to supply the Chinese markets? Is it "base Commercialism" for our Government to help our countrymen by wise treaties or conventions to undersell the European in his own market; to build locomotives to run over the Siberian road; to send our mining plants from Denver to China; to beat in South America goods "made in Germany"; to double for us the trade of Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippines? Is it possible that politics can so warp the intelligence of honorable men that in the great industrial growth of this country they see nothing but evil? The foe of the human race is poverty. It leads to sickness and death and crime.

Arrange that on the last day of the year every man may count his earnings, and find that he has paid his way and saved something for a rainy day! Such a man is happy. The social arts and graces, books, music, independence, — all these will come to him and his family.

Our mechanics are the best in the world. Let the Government do all it legitimately can to give them a world-wide market. No music is sweeter than the hum of countless looms. No symphony is more joyful than that of the innumerable revolving wheels of commerce.

CHARLES DENBY.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BRYANISM AND JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY.

If we are disposed to question Carlyle's lugubrious characterization of the world, and all that therein is, as "a dusty, fuliginous chaos," yet, since the late election, we must concede its application to that part of it constituted by the Democratic party. Nor, as we view the landscape o'er, is the gloomy prospect at all lightened by the proposals of sundry gentlemen, who, since 1896, have been belligerent rebels against the party, to "reorganize" it, forthwith.

The seceders insist, as a basis of reorganization, that the party shall be led back to "the principles of Jefferson"; yet not one has vouchsafed to tell us what is meant by that venerable phrase. To Jefferson and Jackson and the other "fathers," Jeffersonian Democracy meant the assertion of the principle of political equality. Though Jefferson borrowed this new notion from the "sceptics" of France, yet, because he was instrumental in checking the reactionary Toryism of the Federalists and in infusing the spirit of these radical democratic principles into the vast majority of his contemporary citizens of the Republic and into its institutions, after a great contest against the opposite, or aristocratic, principles of Hamilton, this Democracy has been styled Jeffersonian. But Jefferson and the other democratic fathers did not dream of the great question of the practical application of these merely fundamental principles to the economic conditions which have come into existence since their day.

The English people were forcing their way, surely, though not with clear sight, toward representative or parliamentary government, with a subordinate or responsible executive. This principle of popular sovereignty had been recognized, though not firmly established, under William and Anne. George III undertook to go back to the comparative absolutism of the Stuarts. This contest between reactionary Toryism and progressive Democracy was waged alike in England and in the colonies. In the mother country it resulted in the evolution of a government more quickly and surely responsive to the popular will, and with less obstruction to it, probably, than the government of any other country. In the colonies it resulted in Independence, and in a government under a Consti-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tution which was largely infused with the Toryism of the time of George, and in which the process of evolution has been obstructed by its written form. This circumstance explains the presence to so large a degree of George-the-Third-Hamilton Toryism in our government to-day, without exciting wonder or even consciousness.

The framers of our Constitution did not comprehend that the same struggle which won our independence had also, in effect, won for the English people independence from the hereditary upper house of Parliament and the sovereign or executive — in short, a government directly by the elective House of Commons. Excepting such moral influence as they wield and their expense as a relic preserved by the peculiar conservative spirit of the English people, the monarchical executive and the titled upper house of Parliament have been almost inert since the Reform Bill of 1832. On the other hand, our own Constitution, patterned as much as Hamiltonism could make it so after the English constitution of George — and as liberal and progressive a pattern as the world then afforded — remains to us in its original procrustean letter, and in much of its original Tory spirit.

Jefferson played his momentous game of politics with a cue taken from the great French radicals, whose spirit and principles were even then in a life-and-death grapple with the aristocratic order, which they overthrew, never successfully to rise again. This distinction between two marked political tendencies has come down to the present day through the Democratic party, which was born of Jefferson's struggle, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, through the Federal party and its successors, the Whig and Republican parties. The French Revolution reorganized the whole social system and placed it upon a new basis. The revolution of Jefferson in 1800 established new principles of national polity, and organized and administered the new American political society along new lines and in a new spirit. Jefferson's democracy was abreast of the democracy of the French philosophers who inspired the French Revolution. Hamilton, on the other hand, was behind Pitt and Fox, who inspired the English revolution against the reactionary Toryism of George, but who were conservatives in comparison with the revolutionists of France.

Jefferson believed, and doubtless with good reason, that Hamilton would "convert the people to the doctrine of kings, lords, and commons" — not the sovereign commons and subject kings and lords, as we have known them since 1832, but the sovereign kings and lords which Jefferson and Hamilton knew, and against whom the colonists rebelled. Jefferson wrote to Lafayette that the Federalists "have espoused our new

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Constitution, not as a good and sufficient thing in itself, but only as a step to an English Constitution, the only thing good and sufficient in their eyes."

A standard biographer of Jefferson speaks of him in these words:

"His faith in the laxest form of democracy, scarcely removed from anarchy, stood to him in the place of a religion; he preached it with a fervor, intensity and constancy worthy of Mahomet or Wesley. . . . He was observant and quick-witted, and soon appreciated the skill with which Hamilton was rapidly constructing a powerful, centralized government.

"Jefferson remained steadfast to his adhesion to the cause of the people, *even the worst and lowest people.*

"Not only did he appreciate and foresee their invincible power in politics, but he had perfect faith in the desirability of the exercise of that power; he anticipated that in this exercise the masses would always show wisdom and discrimination."

Mr. Henry Adams thus expresses the contemporary opinion of Jefferson held by Federalists, and especially by those of the virtually "established" Congregational Church of New England: "Every dissolute intriguer, loose-liver, forger, false-coiner, and prison-bird; every hair-brained, loud-talking demagogue; every speculator, scoffer, and atheist, — was a follower of Jefferson, and Jefferson was himself the incarnation of their theories." His European and American critics, Mr. Adams tells us, united in calling him "a visionary whose theories would cause the heavens to fall upon them." He was "an extreme radical."

The reader already perceives that, in citing these strictures upon Jefferson from the pages of Morse and of Adams, we repeat the very epithets and charges that have been hurled against Mr. Bryan and "Bryanism" by our secessionist Democrats, who are now invoking a return to "the principles of Jefferson."

Perhaps the most influential of all Democrats just now has spoken, in his latest book, as Jefferson and Jackson spoke when they were organizing and establishing the Democratic party: "And will not to-morrow's evolution, the advent of truth and justice, be brought about by the constant onslaught of the greatest number, the revolutionary fruitfulness of the toilers and the poor?" It is significant that Zola has lately been scourged by the military and "regular-order" sentiment of his country, and that he wrote these words in exile because he had offended it. In passing, it seems pertinent for us of the seceders to remind ourselves that even our own Cleveland, confronted by the same terrific forces of monopoly which have drawn out Mr. Bryan's "revolutionary" and "socialistic" assaults, was up and at them with Bryanic vigor and in language not outdone by Mr. Bryan's "incendiary" speech.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cast in a glittering generality, "economical government and strict construction of the Constitution" are the spirit of Jeffersonian Democracy to which the reorganizers would return. But these two principles have never before breathed with the fervor with which they have breathed out of Mr. Bryan's mouth. In the late campaign, the idealistic justice of a strict construction of the Constitution in its application to the Philippine question was made paramount by Bryanism, to its distinct disadvantage.

Is it the income-tax feature of Bryanism which must be cut off in order to restore the original Jeffersonian countenance of the Democratic party? Even Cleveland's administration, with his own advice and consent, enacted an income-tax law; and if I should go so far as to hint in passing that the Supreme Court thwarted public sentiment in a questionable way when it annulled that law, I should be but following the example both of Jefferson and of Jackson, who indulged in the severest criticism of that Hamiltonian obstacle to representative government, in its modern development, whenever, in their judgment, it deserved censure. If this reminder falls short of sanctifying taxation of incomes to the seceders, then they should reflect that it has been a regular feature of English policy, sustained by Tory and Liberal alike, ever since 1842.

But the complaint urged by Bryanism against the Supreme Court for its alleged tendency to abuse the use of the writ of injunction is also a grievance of the Jeffersonian reorganizers. Well? Jefferson affected to believe that a federalistic Supreme Court was threatening the liberties of the people and the integrity of the Republic, just as Bryanism affects to believe the same thing of a Republican federal judiciary; and Jefferson thereupon said of the court: "These remains of federalism are to be preserved and fed from the treasury, and from that battery all the works of Republicanism are to be beaten down." In 1822, shortly before his death, he said further:

> "Before the venom has reached so much of the body politic as to get beyond control, a remedy should be applied. Let the future appointment of judges be four or six years, and removable by the Senate."

Jefferson being found at the head of a class of scoffers at our judicial holy of holies, mayhap we seceding conservatives may take refuge behind our other titular saint while we point the finger of shame at sacrilegious Bryanism. But, alas! Jackson, too, is convicted by history of a like lese-majesty; and his offence is the more flagrant as his temper is more intense.

Or would we return to Jeffersonian Democracy from the proposal of Bryanism to elect Senators by popular vote? The present indirect

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

method of election, like many other Hamiltonian checks and obstacles to the Democratic expression of the popular will, would, in its present pernicious application, be most hateful to Jefferson. Besides, the present House of Representatives, so strongly dominated by Republicanism, to which we conservative seceders have of late often fled as a protection against Bryanism, has resolved in favor of the popular election of Senators by a vote of 240 against 15.

I observe that certain prominent gold-standard Democrats, who are also at the head of national banks, demand a return from Bryanism to Jeffersonian Democracy. What can this mean? For Jefferson was a virulent opponent of a national-bank system, which was the creature of his hated federalistic rival, Hamilton; and Jackson inherited Jefferson's hatred. When he became President, he fought the system to a complete finish, opposing it with arguments that Bryanism has appropriated for the same purpose.

What Jefferson or Jackson would have done about the silver question, if they had been put in Mr. Bryan's place, is a matter of inconsequential conjecture. What Mr. Carlisle and many other former Democrats who now propose to reorganize the Democratic party did when confronted with the silver question, in the same circumstances as those in which Mr. Bryan was confronted by it, is a matter of fact. In 1878 Mr. Carlisle, catering to an ignorant constituency, ably assisted in passing a sixteen-to-one free-coinage bill in the House of Representatives, and then in passing it again in the modified form of the Bland bill. Mr. Carlisle's eloquent sophistries in support of these measures have served as golden texts — will the reader pardon the incongruity? — ever since. But the fatal fault of Bryanism lies in this: It not only ignored the palpable fact that the fault of its silver programme was precisely the same in kind as that of Carlisle and other Jeffersonian Democrats of 1878, but also that its impracticability had in the meantime become apparent to the public; in short, that it was already a "dead horse."

In reality, he who runs may read more of the spirit of Jeffersonian Democracy in the Chicago and Kansas City platforms than can be found in any other platform of the Democratic party. Furthermore, in his political beginnings, when he knew or had read little else, Mr. Bryan crammed himself with lessons from Jefferson's life and was an ostentatious disciple of that eminent radical. Indeed, it is precisely this quality of Jeffersonism in Mr. Bryan and his platforms which is offensive to the conservative or old-school Democracy. It was left to Bryanism to illustrate the fact, which the Bourbon Democracy does not even yet compre-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hend, that Jeffersonian Democracy is quite out of joint with the times. If Jefferson should come back now to the country whose political institutions and polity he so largely shaped and inspired, he would meet the same sort of a reception as, in Mr. Stead's opinion, would be given in Chicago to his great forerunner as a social leveller.

Both Jefferson and Jackson lived in very primitive social conditions compared to those in which Mr. Bryan is undertaking to apply their political and social notions. They could, with confidence, appeal to the "plain people" then, because there were few of any other class to oppose or control them. They did not take into account the coming supremacy of organized capital, much more potent in its control of the dependent "plain people" than Mr. Bryan's idealistic notions of individual liberty, because they had not dreamed of the revolutionary advent of steam and electricity, or the teeming population which has been their concomitant. Fisher Ames had said, in 1791: "Ages must elapse before the vast wilderness west of the Alleghanies can be peopled, and then God only knows how they can be governed." And Jefferson in his first inaugural address, contemplating only the northwestern territory as far as the Mississippi, said: "There is room enough for our descendants to the hundredth and the thousandth generation." The same sudden creation of modern means of transportation and other mechanical appliances, which so utterly confounded the prophecy of Ames, has thrown out upon the banks of progress the let-alone individualistic policy of Jefferson and Jackson, where it lies obsolete and stale.

Jefferson and Jackson established a system of political equality, and then dreamed that this comprehended economic equality, or, at least, economic freedom. But so great has been the economic and social change since these great political builders wrought that we are, in the words of Zola, "in a democracy ravaged by political equality and economic inequality." The great French radical could not have described more truly or aptly our present condition, if he had had his eye upon us instead of France, or perhaps European society in general, when he spoke these words. Though this condition is the basis of Bryanism and of party cleavage, yet it is so unconsciously; or, at the most, is vaguely perceived. We are in a state of economic anarchy. We pretend to be living in Jeffersonian equality, though we have not adjusted our methods and institutions to changing conditions for a hundred years.

The genuine Jeffersonian Democrat, however, still seeks Jefferson's ends, but, perforce, by methods the very contrary to Jefferson's methods. Jefferson thought he had established equality when he had established

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the principle that there should be no political or legal check upon the freedom of individual competition — the natural regulation of society by its individuals. But if Jefferson lived in present economic conditions he would stand for a policy, not of hands off, of *laissez faire*, but of governmental interference and regulation. In short, rejecting some of the mere vagaries of Populism, such as money fiatism — for he was a philosopher — he would be a Populist, if not a Socialist. He would be either for the abolition of the Senate as an obstruction to the modern principle of parliamentary government, through a legislature fresh from the people, or he would be for the election of that body directly by the people.

Instead of Hamilton's scheme of life-tenure executives and senators, and other forms of feudalism designed to save the people from themselves, he would see the cohorts of feudalism in another guise in the saddle — the lords of trusts, the knights of transportation, and great corporations of a thousand kinds, compelling the homage of his plain people. From this point of view he would at once perceive that to insure reasonably free play to that competition and individual effort which was his social ideal, all those institutions and agencies which are natural monopolies, or lead naturally to monopoly, must be put under complete public control, and that government ownership and operation of all such agencies are the logical and inevitable road to the desired end. A logical, present-day Jeffersonian Democracy, while it would remember the aim, the principles, and the precepts of Jefferson, would reverse his practical application of them. This modern Democracy of Jefferson would still be something more than a memory; it would be the old spirit but in a new body — the same architect with the same ideals, but working with quite new materials and new tools.

The sentiment of a large number of the anti-Bryan Democrats is in reality distinctively anti-Jefferson; and, moreover, it is really with Republicanism where their votes and influence have been for the last five years. As for Mr. Bryan, he is in a practical sense so distinctly neither one thing nor the other, that Bryanism presents little for a practical party, with any chance for practical success, to stand upon. The whole budget of specifics of Bryanism, such as free silver, the paramountcy of the mere sentimentalism of the Philippine question, hostility to national banks, the faint friendship for greenbacks, the superficial specific for trusts, and the little paragraph about the great railway question, was at the outset devitalized or dormant. The general appeal to the lower masses against the higher classes was especially untimely last year; and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in general it is unwise, owing to the satisfaction of a vast majority of the most influential people, if not with their condition, then with their chance to better it.

The materialism of the Republican issue was sordid and aggressive beyond precedent, yet it seemed only to inspire the desired confidence. The one notable Republican campaign speech in Mr. Bryan's home town was made by Senator Frye. He sustained the Philippine position of his party almost in these words: "Some of the peace commissioners went to Paris determined to take as *little* as possible *from* Spain; I went to get all we could lay hands on." This was part one of his address. Part two was, in substance: "Your bellies were empty when McKinley came in, were they not? Well, they're full now, are they not? What more do you want?" The first sentiment raised a sweeping tornado of applause, whose significance to me was startling; the second was received all but as ardently.

Perhaps the most distinguishing manifestation of the ethics of the great Christian nations of Europe in the last twenty-five years has been their universal robbery of the countries of weak, uncivilized peoples. In the late campaign Republicans seemed surcharged with this spirit of spoliation. They were possessed also by paternalistic prosperity worship: "McKinley is my shepherd, I shall not want. He maketh me to lie down in green pastures; he leadeth me beside the still waters."

The foregoing sketch of existing conditions is intended to serve as a basis for a forecast or conjecture of the near future of the Democratic party. The more conservative sentiment, which, since the lesson of the late campaign, has plainly come to be dominant in the party, has no programme. This will be its strength in 1902 and 1904 — if the leaders do not prevent the rank and file from getting together. The Republican programme is simply to take care of business, regardless of any far-sighted principle, moral or otherwise. It takes care of the great and the strong, leaving them to take care of the small and the weak in pretty much their own way. For the present, under the still lingering influence of the panic and the recovery from it, this policy is strong in itself and with the people. But in the natural course of events, a reaction against it will soon be due.

Incident to this strong monopolistic programme of the Republicans is their policy of taking care of their loyal members to the utmost, at the public expense, by the lavish and greedy use of the tremendous resources now afforded by the public patronage. Popular rebellion against this policy might defeat the Republicans in 1902 and 1904, if the opposition

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

should take up new leaders of "safe" principles and tendencies, who would stand for retrenchment and honest, economical administration; in general, for reform — in short, for the corrective policy which brought magnificent success to Tilden once and to Cleveland twice. But the new leaders must be of later date than the Bourbon Democrat of the Cleveland régime. The Democratic party has moved ahead materially since his day. Tilden and Cleveland won, not because they stood for the restoration of the ancient Democracy, but because they boldly cut loose from it. They stripped the party of its out-of-date habiliments and dressed it in contemporaneous clothes.

The power of Tilden's political personality, platform, and letter of acceptance wrenched the party away from its old obstructive policy, and, more important still, put a summary end to its coquetry with fiat money. Mr. Cleveland, in turn, cauterized the party's silver recrudescence, and raised it to its feet with a tonic of sound-money principles. His personal reputation made a real issue of honest and economical administration and the development of civil-service reform. Thus, in 1876, 1884, and 1892 a great body of the most intelligent, conservative, and independent, yet progressive, voters was won over to the long-distrusted party. If the leaders will but let nature take her course, the same class will do the same thing in 1902 and 1904 as it did under Tilden and Cleveland. Will this happen?

The ultra, or Bourbon, conservative will be easily kept out of the way. Not so with Mr. Bryan. If he permits or is compelled to let the natural conservatism of the party control it, will he not then be impelled by his momentum to lead or propel a large faction of the party to desert it? Is division the fate that Mr. Bryan holds in store for the Democratic party? The unimpeachable purity of his public and private life, his persistent appeal to lofty and Democratic ideals, and the alluring personal charm with which he presents them, will continue to command, and perhaps to deserve, in spite of his faults, a great and devoted personal following. But he is too much the agitator and magnetic advocate to be a successful party leader. His whole career up to the present time foretells that he will continue to struggle for personal supremacy in the party and for the supremacy of the Chicago and Kansas City platforms, *in toto*,— the bad as well as the good, the dead as well as that which is alive in them. If, as seems likely to be the outcome, he falls short of control, what then? Ever since he began his struggle for control of the party, with us, his fellow Democrats of Nebraska, in 1891, he has, with only occasional early reverses, easily won majorities to his side. But those who have known

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

him from the first will say, I think, that if the majority turns against him he will not rebel but will conform. For even Mr. Bryan's imperious will, audacious aggressiveness, and apparent unyielding radicalism are threaded on traditional Democratic conservatism and respect for the majority.

Mr. Bryan's natural followers since the election will be confined to the ultimate or logical Jeffersonian radicals. To accommodate himself to this following he should consistently, and at once, stand for postal savings banks, public ownership of telegraphs and all means of transportation, and perhaps of all deposits of coal and other staple minerals. This he will not do, because his tendency is to build for the present and not to wait for development or slow party growth. He can win nothing practical on opportunist or temporary issues, because he is too widely distrusted by conservative classes — whether on good grounds or not is not material.

A German writer tells, in a current story, of a Hebrew family that was in need of the indispensable unleavened bread for the approaching feast of Pesach. The improvident husband persisted day after day in spending his slim earnings in unnecessary notions and luxuries, always quieting his wife's remonstrances and fears about the still-wanting bread with the answer, "What must be, must be." He insisted that because he must have the bread for an all-important and sacred purpose it would be forthcoming. In his case his fatalistic faith sustained him. While he squandered the resources by which he might have secured the bread, at the very last the neighbors chipped in the money and bought it for the distressed wife. Mr. Bryan has had a fatalistic confidence that his Democratic ideals would surely be realized because to him they seemed indispensable. But here the parallel to the Hebrew story ends. The unappreciative public refused to chip in the votes which Mr. Bryan's improvidence had failed to secure by practical means; and his followers, who are wedded to him by the close ties of faith and dependence, go hungry.

From the beginning he has sought ostentatiously to win a following of "plain people." This foible I always believed would have a disastrous culmination; and it contributed very largely to the great majorities against him which distinguished the late election. At the very beginning of his career, before men of conservative, ripe judgment in his home community had acknowledged his capacity or stability, the plain people adored him and pronounced him a great man. Old party leaders of his district shrewdly, as they thought, made use of this fact

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to win a Democratic member of Congress by nominating Mr. Bryan. This was before the dazzling opportunities of free silver had burst upon him as a heavenly vision. His promoters, of course, expected simply to use him. When he began to provide for reëlection, however, he at once used them, and in a characteristic way. The votes of the free-silver Populists, who were becoming numerous in the district, were needed to overcome the large Republican plurality. Mr. Bryan reasoned that the old-timers would vote for him any way, for the sake of tariff reform, then the leading party issue, which they did under protest, while he gathered the plain Populists about his free-silver banner.

In his speeches in that campaign, he would publicly list those Democrats who were against free silver, and who also had any appearance of being financially prosperous or solvent, as "bankers" and emissaries of the "money power." This clever device was successful in a remote rural district; but when the whole country came to be his battlefield, fear of the untrustworthiness of so large a part of his forces enlisted in such a way frightened away countless numbers of those who were natural opponents of the Republican party. Those who naturally became his lieutenants, under this ultra-plain-people programme, were found wanting in capacity and influence when the greater test came. Of course, also, thousands and, perhaps, millions of the plain people whom he had rallied proved unreliable and surrendered to the "belly" argument. This original and persistent characteristic of Mr. Bryan illustrates why he has always been, in fact, the leader of the Populists, without subscribing to their specific principles.

If the rank and file of those who are naturally Democrats were permitted to drift together, they would stand for economy of public expenditure; they would revive the question of tariff reform, with, perhaps, especial relation to its effect upon trusts; they would seek to rescue the Cullom bill from the Senate committee pigeon-hole, where Republicans have kept it for several years, in spite of public sentiment, and with it endeavor to give vitality to the principle of railway control; they would revive the abandoned principle of civil-service reform; and they would treat the Philippine question in a rational manner, which may be best ascertained after the decision of the pending cases relating thereto in the Supreme Court. They would adopt the principle of an income tax. Besides undertaking to remove the main props of the trusts, discriminating tariffs, both customs and railway, they would seek to regulate these combinations of capital so as to prevent their abuses, but in a rational and progressive spirit. They would constitute, in general, an anti-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

monopoly party, being in opposition to Republicanism, but not a revolutionary or destructive party. As a progressive measure they should advocate a postal-telegraph system. This would be an introduction to other progressive measures, which it seems to be the destiny of the Democratic party to adopt in due season.

As for the lion that lay in the Democratic line of march in the campaigns of 1896 and 1900, it will doubtless be easy to evade him in 1904. For unless the Republicans do something very unusual or unexpected, such as adopting the measure for making silver dollars redeemable in gold, Democrats may well assume a Napoleonic attitude and say, "There shall be no money question." It is possible that the breath-taking rate at which industrial consolidation is now going on may upset ordinary calculations and seem to call for "fast" leadership; and yet it is hardly likely that political view-points will be much changed in the next three or four years.

Wholesome progressiveness involves party idealism. Bryanism has idealism in good measure, but it smacks too much of the past; Republicanism has none. Both parties should perceive that the gulf widens between our ideals, which are the measure of our intelligence, and our performance, as exhibited in our institutions; that through fear or other incapacity we fail, almost ludicrously, to practise up to our conceptions. Meanwhile, the impatient reformer may acquire patience, and the conservative, who stands always trembling in overweening fear of radicals and radicalism, may achieve equanimity by reflecting that political change in countries of the conservative or English type is, after all, both a slow and a sure process; that though its movement lags, it is yet constant. And both reformer and conservative should be mindful of this bit of philosophy which has lately emanated from a well-known scholar within the conservative precincts of Oxford University:

"It has never been denied that the process of gradual remoulding is a part of living, and all admit that the state (which lives like any other thing) must suffer such a process as a condition of health. . . . There is in every branch of social effort a necessity for constant reform and check; it is the business of a politician continually to apply such correction. . . . What test can be applied by which we may know whether a reform is working toward this rectification or not? None, except the general conviction of a whole generation that this or that survival obstructs the way of right living — the mere instinct of justice expressed in concrete terms on a particular point. To observe it is to keep the state sane, to neglect it is to bring about revolution."

ALBERT WATKINS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ART AS THE HANDMAID OF LITERATURE.

THE English man of letters who seems now to hold the centre of the stage has complained of a lack of artistic and literary ideals in the American people. "They measure progress," he has said, "by the snarling together of telegraph wires, the heaving up of houses, and the making of money." It is possible that Mr. Kipling is not exempt from those prejudices concerning America which are the heritage of English men of letters, but he is nevertheless the poet-laureate of the Empire "by the grace of God;" and Sir Walter Besant is no doubt correct in saying, that "never in the history of literature has story-teller, in his own lifetime, faced such an audience." Unless, therefore, Americans are content to rest under the imputation of great inferiority in respect to the finer attributes of mind and soul, they should inquire whether there is evidence which could justify so sweeping an assertion.

In making such an inquiry, it would soon be discovered that others than Mr. Kipling, and of their number many Americans, have not hesitated to deplore the inferior position which has long been held by American art. That we have had no national school of art and have produced but few really great men of letters has been freely enough admitted; but to most of us this will doubtless appear to be a natural and, in fact, almost an inevitable consequence of the peculiar conditions under which the Republic has been evolved. The growth of the United States, while an eminently healthy one, has nevertheless been accomplished through a constant struggle, amid dangers which have threatened its very existence. These conditions have produced a powerful organism, fitted to survive in the battle of life. Appreciation of opportunity, quickness of resolve, fertility of resource, magnificent courage, tireless energy, and dogged determination to succeed, have become national characteristics; but there has been small opportunity for development of the imagination, or for a contemplation of those beauties of thought and style, of form and of color, which make up the world of literature and art. The rich development of the finer sensibilities in nations, as in men, comes only after the body has attained to maturity. Geographical and political isolation

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are, moreover, responsible for a certain selfishness of spirit and a narrowness of view — a provincialism, in short — but little calculated to produce great results in the realm of art. It may, indeed, be true, as has been more than once expressed, that the "white man's burden" of carrying the Western civilization to the benighted portions of the globe, fraught as it is with so much of sacrifice, of patience under disappointments, and of unrequited toil, may bring with it the possibility of moulding a nation in a nobler form, with greater and broader development of the mental and spiritual life.

There are indications, however, that the American nation is now entering upon a new stage of its development, and that the tendency to look outward, which has been so marked a characteristic of the end of the century, has not been confined solely to commercial and governmental affairs. With a rapidity which is the more remarkable because it is so often unperceived, transformations in many fields of endeavor are bringing about a new discovery of America to the world. A better time seems even to be dawning for American art, when perhaps the best literary painting of the year is Mr. Edwin A. Abbey's "The Trial of Queen Catherine," and when Anders Zorn, the distinguished Swedish painter and etcher, fresh from the Paris Exposition, is reported as saying:

"Without prejudice or national feeling, and simply from the point of view of an art critic, I consider the exhibits of American and Swedish artists at the Paris Exposition the most praiseworthy of all. American art is showing a freshness and a strength due to a vigorous nationality, and it is making most marked progress. In commerce and in industry America has produced a race of giants, and slowly and surely she is producing giants in art as well."

Nor is it alone in painting that American art shows signs of progress. The "White City," whose palaces and temples rose in classic beauty from the shores of Lake Michigan, did not fade away until its image had been reflected in the minds of those who thronged to see it, and who thus for the first time became aware of what American architects could achieve if freed from the usual restraints.

If painting and architecture have acquired in America a new importance, it is nevertheless in a widely different field that American art has made its most remarkable advance. I cannot say how generally it is known that the work of American illustrators is the envy of their European confrères, or that the world's Bohemia of illustration is centred in the city of New York, just as truly as that of painting centres in Paris. The most notable growth of this department of American art has been very largely confined to the last fifteen years, and it has attained its full

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

flower only during the past decade. In the place of the ten artists who previous to 1885 supplied all the demands of American book illustration, there has appeared an army whose ranks are recruited with such frequency that acquaintance with its personnel is well-nigh impossible.

The late C. S. Reinhart, the late William Hamilton Gibson, and the present leaders, Abbey, Smedley, Cole, Frost, Pyle, Remington, and Vedder, will by future generations be accorded a place among the masters of illustration. In the widely separated fields which they have individually chosen, each is to-day almost without rivals but with many imitators. Newer leaders in the art include such men as Walter Appleton Clark, F. C. Yohn, Howard Chandler Christy, E. C. Peixotto, Henry Hutt, Maxfield Parrish, and Ernest Haskell, all of whom have been before the public for less than three years, and no one of whom is much over thirty years of age. A very large proportion of American illustrators have been trained in academic methods, and have further had the advantage of rich and varied experience in life; but they belong to no school and have no one characteristic so marked as that of individuality.

To explain this exceptional development of illustrative art in America, English writers draw attention to the large sums paid to artists by American publishing houses. For the illustrations of a single number the publishers of one of our standard magazines may expend as much as $2,500; but this is chiefly significant as showing that the American people demand illustrations of a high order of merit, and are willing to pay for them. That a like enterprise would be welcomed in England may be inferred from the fact that one of the great American illustrated magazines has a larger circulation in England than has any similar English periodical. In France drawings in black and white are held in less esteem, and French illustrators find a market for much of their work in America. It is significant that of the two important works on modern French illustration, one is published by the Scribners. Yet the introduction of continental ideas of art has had much to do with the renaissance of art illustration which began in America in the early eighties. Some one has said: "The secret of the fine arts is illusion on a ground of truth." It was the "ground of truth" that up to that time had been lacking.

The conditions existing both before and after the transformation will be made clear if we recall the experience of a veteran illustrator who was instrumental in ushering in the new era. At the time, the art department of the magazine to whose staff he belonged was located in the printing house; and the artists drew each upon the wooden block,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sitting in little booths partitioned from their neighbors, like the desks in a telegraph office. The illustrator, who did so much to advance his art, merely requested of the house permission to employ models in his work. This simple request was at first met with a refusal, but in a few months, as interest in the project was aroused, permission was granted to hire an uptown studio and employ as many models as desired. This proved the entering wedge in the existing system; for soon all the other artists followed the example set, and a complete change of method was the result. Instead of evolving a drawing out of the inner consciousness, there was developed a keen faculty of observation, and with it there came a shock of surprise as the crudeness of the earlier work began to be appreciated. Remington, with unusually keen perception, observed correctly the motions of animals before Muybridge's ingenious photographs had astonished the world. Meissonier, the father of French illustration, only less keen in this respect, is reported to have exclaimed in despair when he saw Muybridge's photographs, "Mais maintenant, je suis trop agé," and to have spent a sleepless night thereafter. To one with his exalted idea of truth, the shock must have been severe, for he had been drawing animals incorrectly all his life.

Important and far-reaching as was the introduction of the method of drawing from the model, it was a reform which could hardly have been long delayed, inasmuch as American art students fresh from the masters' studios were beginning to return in numbers from Europe. It is of some interest, however, that the reform occurred so near the time when the progress of invention was to revolutionize the art of book illustration throughout the world, both by enlarging greatly the possibilities of pictorial representation in engravings and by simplifying and cheapening the processes of reproduction.

In both wood and steel engraving and in lithographing processes, the artist drew his design in reverse on the surface of the block; and this drawing was translated by the engraver in his characteristic "handling," in many cases, with mannerisms and conceits peculiarly his own. Not only, therefore, did the medium upon which the drawing was made and the reversing of the picture impose great restraints upon the freedom of the pencil, but the necessity of entrusting the half-finished product of his brain and hand to an often unappreciative engraver so handicapped the artist that he rarely succeeded in bringing out of his drawing what was originally intended. The engraver, having his own reputation to make, often purposely changed the design if it did not quite suit his fancy; and, since it was the engraver's name, and not the artist's, which

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

became connected with the finished illustration, the artist found little incentive for improving the quality of his work. His only escape from the tyranny of the engraver lay in acquiring the engraver's art himself; and so there came to be developed an important class of artist wood engravers, in which class Americans took the lead.

The introduction of the camera into engraving brought with it new and important changes. The artist could now draw in a free hand, leaving it to the camera to transfer his creation to the block, a task which it faithfully and expeditiously performed. It was, however, the invention of the "process" plate which brought complete emancipation of the artist from his bondage to the engraver. Not only did the new process afford the artist almost absolute freedom in the use of his pencil, but he was no longer bound down to the limitations of line. He could now employ all the subtle illusions of charcoal, crayon, and brush; for the new process interpreted the "values" of his original with at least a moderate degree of success. Of the two modifications of "process" — zinc etchings and half-tones — the zinc etching is able to interpret line drawings only, but it accomplishes this with almost absolute fidelity. The half-tone plate is employed to engrave crayon and "wash" drawings, but its success is largely dependent upon the work which it attempts to interpret. In general, it may be said that half-tones are, in comparison with the originals, flat and characterless, a defect which may, however, be in large part corrected by clever hand work.

It is the cheapness of the "process" methods in comparison with the older forms of engraving, the greater possibilities of enlarging and interpreting correctly the artist's work, and further, his delivery out of the hands of the engraver which have brought about the renaissance of the art of illustration throughout the world, but especially in the United States. Wood engraving as an industry has undoubtedly suffered by the introduction of "process," but as an art it has made as distinct an advance.

The present-day illustrations of the "Century Magazine" are chiefly of four kinds: wood engravings, "process" plates of line drawings, half-tone "process" plates, and "tone engravings," or half-tone plates worked over by artist engravers. These illustrations are made up a long time beforehand, and are put upon the magnificent Hoe presses fully three months in advance of their issue. As regards the future, there is likely to be a place for the colored illustration, now that we are passing, in the phrase of one writer, the "tomato-can period" of the art. Mr. Ruskin has said: "We ought to love color and to think nothing quite beautiful or perfect

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

without it." Yet it is likely that colored illustrations will only slowly, if at all, take the place of black and white. Excellent work in color by Pyle, Clark, McCarter, Parrish, and Miss Stillwell may, however, occasionally be seen in later issues of our standard magazines.

I have thus far referred to illustrations simply as pictures, having in mind their artistic quality only. Regarded in this light, no better survey of the field could be obtained than by an examination of the pages of "Harper's Magazine," the one hundred volumes of which contain examples of the work of nearly every prominent American illustrator. It is not enough, however, that an illustration should be a work of art. Mr. Tudor Jenks has well defined the fields of the artist and the illustrator:

> "An artist is one who makes pictures with the primary purpose of pleasing the eye and the æsthetic tastes that are addressed through the eye. An illustrator is one who makes pictures, also, but with the primary purpose of pleasing the intellectual faculties already addressed by the author's text."

The primary object of illustration is, then, to illuminate the text, and to that end it must never obtrude itself, but must always be supplementary to the work of the author. Art illustration is thus made truly the handmaid of literature; and the illustrator, to achieve success, should possess both a knowledge and a keen appreciation of literary work. That art illustration has advanced, when measured by this standard, is sufficiently indicated by the increasing liberties which have been granted to American illustrators. Formerly the artist was given a line or set of lines from the text, for which he was to furnish an illustration. To-day he reads the author's manuscript, making his own choice of scenes and situations. It was also formerly the rule, where it is now the exception, to find illustrations which in their spirit, if not in their form, were more or less foreign to the text which they were supposed to illuminate. The word "illustrated" on the title-page of a book has long been connected in the popular mind with that uniform quality of perfection which is so inseparable from the "hand-painted" on Christmas novelties. Important literary works bearing the label "illustrated" have masqueraded before the public, when literature would have been the gainer had the author's word pictures been left undistorted or even uncaricatured by the artist's pencil. This has sometimes been true, I think, even when the artists employed were the best of their time; and it perhaps emphasizes the fact that there are some literary works, which, for their adequate illustration, demand a unique combination of exceptional talents.

The edition of Dickens illustrated by that famous coterie of artists which included Cruikshank, Seymour, "Phiz," Cattermole, Leech, Dar-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ley, Gilbert, Doyle, Tenniel, Landseer, Palmer, Stanfield, and several others, presents perhaps as remarkable an array of pictures as can be found in the works of any novelist. It is, I believe, a somewhat popular impression that these drawings are also in a remarkable degree successful; and Mr. Tudor Jenks has recently compared them most favorably with the best of recent illustrations, emphasizing the fact that they made the characters of the story live upon the page. While it cannot be denied that many of them are truly admirable, there are others which are gross exaggerations or even caricatures, and I cannot believe that they correctly set forth the author's conceptions. It is, in any case, a matter of record that Dickens's illustrations were rarely other than disappointments to him; and, if his biographer is to be believed, the author would have preferred to have had his books left without the artist's pictures. "He was apt," he said, "to build up temples in his mind not always makable with hands."

If the illustrations to Dickens are many of them caricatures, those of Thackeray are hardly less so. Since the latter were the work of the author himself, we must assume that they represent a sincere attempt to set forth the pictures of the text as the author conceived them. Granting that they are suggestive, Thackeray was yet so absolutely devoid of technique that his illustrations, even when worked over by Walker, were nearly always failures. Only a very great artist or a very presumptuous one would attempt to portray Beatrix Esmond as she appeared to Henry at Walcote:

> " . . . She was a brown beauty; that is, her eyes, hair and eyebrows and eyelashes were dark; her hair curling with rich undulations and waving over her shoulders; but her complexion was as dazzling white as snow in sunshine; except her cheeks, which were a bright red, and her lips, which were of a still deeper crimson. Her mouth and chin, they said, were too large and full, and so they might be for a goddess in marble, but not for a woman whose eyes were fire, whose look was love, whose voice was the sweetest low song, whose shape was perfect symmetry, health, decision, activity, whose foot as it planted itself upon the ground was firm but flexible, and whose motion, whether rapid or slow, was always perfect grace — agile as a nymph, lofty as a queen — now melting, now imperious, now sarcastic — there was no single motion of hers but was beautiful. As he thinks of her, he who writes feels young again, and remembers a paragon."

It has been said that Thackeray was himself in love with Beatrix — and what wonder! Why, then, did he introduce beside this glowing picture the altogether uninspiring creation of his pencil, and label it with her name?

If Thackeray was oblivious to his own limitations as an illustrator, he could yet appreciate the shortcomings of the English academicians

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and immortalize Boydell's Shakspere as "that black and ghastly gallery of murky Opies, glum Northcotes, straddling Fuselis."

In recent books also, and those of first-class publishing houses, it is easy to find illustrations the important details of which are out of touch with, or even contradictions of, the author's text. This has been especially true of the so-called "flat book," or the elaborate Christmas gift book of so many of our American publishers, but it is by no means restricted to that class. Crawford's "Katherine Lauderdale," published by the Macmillans, may be taken as a too common example. The heroine, while not so impossible a female as the creations of "Harper's Bazar," is still of such extraordinary stature that she would attract attention were she to appear upon the street. The story affords, however, no warrant for drawing such a figure, and the picture is introduced in the text near where the heroine's mother is described as being "much taller than her daughters." An almost equal example of carelessness in modern book illustration is afforded by Mr. Charles Major's popular love-story, "When Knighthood Was in Flower."

A recent writer has said that literary art falls naturally into three classes. In the first class are those pictures in which the literary idea has been inspiration; in the second are those for which it has been a legitimate pretext; and in the third are those in which it has been apparently an afterthought. Since

> "In framing an artist, art hath thus decreed
> To make some good, but others to exceed,"

we need experience no surprise at finding that all these classes of pictures are represented in modern books. In the first class are all those illustrations to which we instinctively turn as notable successes. One cannot examine Mr. Abbey's charming pictures for "She Stoops to Conquer" without feeling that Goldsmith's people live before us in their true guise, and that those things we have felt, but could not express, the artist has portrayed for us. In the language of Mr. Hopkinson Smith: "It is as though artist and poet had worked at the same thing together, not at any vision of the thing as it looked in the other's mind." How different and yet how truly inspired are the humorously articulate drawings of Mr. Frost for the "Nights with Uncle Remus." To lovers of the "Remus" stories the newly illustrated book brings almost the freshness of a first edition.

I have purposely mentioned these totally different books in close association that I might show the wide range of the illustrator's field of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

work. Had Mr. Abbey illustrated Mr. Harris's folk-lore and Mr. Frost the poems of Goldsmith, we can hardly believe that such success would have been attained. Yet the illustrator of only a few years since was expected to portray with equal facility and truthfulness a social event, a county fair, or a railway accident. To-day the illustrator is essentially a specialist who depicts a peculiar phase of life, or, at most, only a very few phases of it.

Thus, Charles Dana Gibson is, *par excellence*, the recorder of social follies and fancies. Into a few strong lines his subtle genius compresses a story which to tell as clearly and vigorously in words would require pages of text. He is not artist alone, but tailor and house-furnisher as well, and his pictures, like those of Smedley and Gilbert, of Hutt, Johnson, and Wenzell, exhibit the up-to-date fashions in dress with all the correctness of the latest Parisian plates. In a totally different field is Joseph Pennell, who has trained his pencil to put upon paper those vignettes of architectural beauty — glimpses from well-chosen coigns of vantage — which before had existed only as the cherished memory-pictures of travellers. Frederic Remington is the artist of the strenuous frontier life, with his lank and sinewy plainsmen and rearing or galloping broncos. His pictures naturally include the American trooper, as do also those of Rufus Zogbaum and Thule de Thulstrup. Howard Pyle has made himself preëminently the illustrator of colonial and fifteenth-century times; and his pupil, Mr. F. C. Yohn, is following in his footsteps. The recognized interpreters of Southern life are A. B. Frost and E. W. Kemble. And so the list might be extended until it included representations of almost every place and time.

This specialization of the illustrator's work necessitates a special training and close study of the surroundings of the objects and characters which are to be portrayed. If an artist is to illustrate a story the scene of which has a definite geographical location, he visits the region and by observation and by sketches familiarizes himself, as far as is possible, with its peculiarities. When Houghton, Mifflin & Company selected Eric Pape to illustrate "The Fair God" of General Wallace, he had in some sense qualified himself for the task by years of sojourn in Egypt, where he had steeped himself in the lore of an ancient people. Before beginning his work, however, he was sent to Central America to sketch topography and flora, and, in the presence of the Aztec monuments, to inhale the atmosphere of his pictures. He then haunted museums of archæology to examine the collections of Aztec costumes, utensils, and curios which tell of the every-day life of this interesting people.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But the literary man of the present has also his special gifts and his peculiar graces of thought and style; and so it has come about that nearly every prominent illustrator of literature who has been long before the public has become more or less closely identified with one or more of the men of letters of the day. Mr. Gibson has been so long the illuminator for the stories of Richard Harding Davis that when in "The Lion and the Unicorn" are found the excellent pictures of Mr. Howard Chandler Christy, the world of readers is sensible of a distinct surprise. Peter Newell's quaint humor has found its proper field in bringing out the ingenious situations which have originated in the brains of Frank R. Stockton and the late Stephen Crane. Remington has become identified with Owen Wister, Frost with Joel Chandler Harris and Ruth McEnery Stuart, Alice Barber Stephens with Mary E. Wilkins, and so on.

Such collaboration has resulted in the creation of a bond of sympathy between the man of letters and the man of art, as each has come to recognize in its true importance the function of the other. It is on record that a prominent novelist, one of whose stories was recently appearing as a serial in a standard magazine, changed in a notable manner, and with happy results, the physical conception of his heroine, because of the difficulties which would otherwise have arisen in composing the illustrations. That an appreciative illustrator may materially assist the author in introducing his characters and incidents may be inferred also from a recently published letter of James Lane Allen to Orson Lowell, the eminently successful illustrator of "The Choir Invisible." This delicate tribute to the artist-illustrator as a fellow worker is so in contrast with the habitual complaints of authors during a recent period of illustration, that it may well be quoted. In his letter Mr. Allen said:

"... Since then a book of mine has lately had the good fortune to be placed in your hands for the purpose of illustration, even the poorest sense of gratitude would constrain me to say how much it has gained through your studious, your beautiful, your truly illuminating art. You have created your own interpretation of the text and imposed it so successfully upon the eye of the author, at least, that he is fain to accept your personages and your incidents as prior realities from which his story was drawn, rather than as later fancies drawn from his story."

The collaboration of author and artist may be looked upon as marking a distinct advance in the field of illustration. A still higher plane should be reached when it is possible to unite in one person the talents of both. Such a combination, it might be expected, would be but rarely met with; yet there has recently come into notice such a truly remarkable group of illustrator-authors as to make the latest decade of the Vic-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

torian era a somewhat unique one in the history of literature. The best known of the "society" artists of England, fast approaching the end of the allotted span of life, flashes across the literary horizon with the suddenness almost of a meteor; and, through a genius displayed both by pen and pencil, takes his position in the front rank of contemporary writers of fiction. On this side of the Atlantic, an exquisite artist, whose clever and forceful sketches possess such a human element that even Mr. Abbey regrets that he cannot give to his pictures the same subtle quality, is urged by Mr. Richard Watson Gilder to essay the writing of stories, and her success is immediate. An artist-naturalist, who has devoted his life to a study of the anatomy of animals, tells with pen and pencil what he has learned from his furry friends, with the result that his book is the literary success of the year, and Mr. Kipling, when he visits America, seeks him out as the literary man he most wishes to meet.

Yet George Du Maurier, Mary Hallock Foote, and Ernest Seton Thompson are not alone in the now closely allied fields of literature and illustration. Who has not been charmed by the delightful sketches of Hopkinson Smith — word pictures so like the dreamy creations of his pencil that they can only be considered as parts of a common whole; or who that has ever seen William Hamilton Gibson's vignettes of nature, artistically and cleverly caught in woodland nooks and by wayside fences, and read his pastorals and idyls, has not felt the allurements of a life *au large* in nature's kingdom? The vigorous stories of Howard Pyle, the breezy sketches of Frederic Remington, and the clever conceits of Oliver Herford, likewise carry in each instance their author's illustrations. The advantage held by the illustrator-author has been so manifest that he has received every encouragement from magazine editor and publisher. As if to show how dominant is this feeling, a recent number of "Harper's Magazine" was made up almost exclusively of articles by professional artists.

If now we pass in review the several stages of modern book-making, the fact which stands out above all others is the steady evolution of illustration from a mere embellishment of the text to the dignity of a literary performance. It can no longer be regarded as a mere accessory to, but rather as a part of, the book itself; for the modern writer addresses his readers through the text and the illustrations alike. This embodiment of the pictures in the book has required that they be joined to the text in their natural positions, so that the reader's sensation of pleasure may be that of the *tout ensemble*. The French illustrators, who in their best work cover the pages with dainty vignettes, as in the beau-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tiful *Tartarin* books of Alphonse Daudet, have accomplished this result, though their pictures are little more than suggestions. Their method has, however, found but little following in America, where more serious literary pictures are the rule; but increasing care has been exercised to place each illustration in close union with the text which it supplements.

I shall have failed in my purpose if I have not indicated that the drift of modern book-making has been in the direction of that unity in design which must ever be present in a perfect whole. The artist and engraver, who so often worked at cross-purposes, were, through the progress of invention, replaced, first by the artist-engraver, and later by the artist-illustrator. Through an evolution of the latter his work acquired a literary quality which made collaboration with the author inevitable, and to-day we see a marked tendency to unite the two faculties of writing and illustrating wherever this is possible.

The service of art to literature does not end when the illustrations of a book have been embodied in the text. Manuscript and illustrations are, it is true, both the body and the soul of the book; but it is as true here as elsewhere that dress cannot be entirely ignored, and art again becomes the handmaid of literature by fashioning the attire in which the book is to make its appearance before the public. Of the paper which makes up the warp and woof of the garment, it is the province of art to select that which is neither so glaringly white nor so glossily starched as to obtrude itself upon the eye. The pattern of the page and its margin must be suited to the body it adorns, and the design in the types must be both artistic and simple. The outer wrap, in which the book is first to greet the reader, will be the greater success if, besides being cleverly fashioned in harmony with the dress it but partially conceals, it contains also some subtle hint of the personality it is to mantle.

In the modest opinion of the writer, the books of Mr. Ernest Seton Thompson, published by the Century Company and by Charles Scribner's Sons, mark, if all practical questions be taken into account, as high a level as has yet been reached in the bookman's art. The folio Chaucer issued from the Kelmscott Press may be, indeed, the most elegant specimen of a book that was ever published; but in such luxuriance of dress one is apt to forget that the primary object of a book is to be read — not, like an overdressed woman, to be gazed at. Printed on matt-surfaced, tinted paper, the books of Mr. Seton Thompson, through the superbly drawn and appropriate pictures by the author, no less than through the vigorous and artistic marginal sketches — sketches which seem to spring

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from the text — delight and satisfy the reader who has been attracted to them by the suggestion of their contents upon the cover.

The topic which I have chosen has naturally led me to confine myself largely to modern book illustration, and especially to American work, since the practice of those who follow is less interesting and may in some measure be inferred from a study of the leaders. For omitting to mention the early school of engravers which flourished in the fifteenth century, and for failing to speak of the revival of wood engraving, under Bewick and others, which occurred in England in the eighteenth century, I take refuge behind my text, claiming that here art did not, in the majority of instances at least, do service to literature. With the exception of Holbein and Hogarth, no great artists were employed to illustrate important literary works until the second revival of engraving in the nineteenth century.

The earliest form of illustrated book was the illuminated manuscript, a most beautiful example of which is the missal of the Emperor Maximilian. The text and illumination of this manuscript are alike the handiwork of that superb artist, Albrecht Dürer. In the long cycle of development which separates his time from the present, the making of a book has increased manifold in complexity, to keep pace with the progress of invention; but we may discern in the present drawing together of author and illustrator an earnest attempt to return to that unity of design which the illuminated book of Dürer so well exemplifies.

WILLIAM HERBERT HOBBS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WRITERS IN THE MAY FORUM.

Mr. Ernest Irving Antrim was born in Germantown, Ohio, in 1869, and was graduated from DePauw University in 1889. The year following his graduation he attended Boston University, and was awarded the master's degree by that institution. From 1890 to 1894 was a teacher, holding part of that time the chair of English in Wyoming University. In 1894 went to Germany, where he spent three years. Received the degree of Ph.D. from Göttingen University. For several years has been engaged in the banking business and in literary work.

Prof. Arlo Bates was born at East Machias, Me., in 1850. Graduated from Bowdoin College in 1876, and has since received, from the same college, the degrees of A.M. and Litt.D. After graduation settled in Boston. Was for some years engaged in journalism and magazine work, accompanied by more serious efforts in fiction and poetry. His fiction includes "A Wheel of Fire," "The Pagans," "The Puritans," "The Philistines," "Love in a Cloud," etc. In verse Prof. Bates has written a volume of Persian tales, "Told in the Gate," several volumes of lyrics, of which the most recent is called "Under the Beech-Tree," and "Sonnets in Shadow," a memorial to his wife, Harriet Leonora Vose, better known by her pen-name "Eleanor Putnam," and as the author of "Old Salem." Has published also two series of Lowell Institute lectures, "Talks on Writing English" and "Talks on the Study of Literature." Since 1893 has held the chair of English at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Hon. Charles Denby, born in Virginia in 1830, was educated at Georgetown University and at the Virginian Military Institute, graduating from the latter in 1850. Was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Forty-Second Regiment, Indiana Volunteers, and Colonel of the Eighteenth Regiment, Indiana Volunteers. In 1885 Mr. Denby was appointed Minister to China, and remained at Peking in that position until July, 1898. Was a member of the Commission to investigate the conduct of the war with Spain, and also of the Philippine Commission.

Leonora Beck Ellis, a Georgian by birth, is a Southern writer, whose first magazine work appeared in the New York and Boston periodicals some five years ago. Since that time has contributed extensively to the magazine literature both of this country and of England. Belonging to one of the old Southern families, Mrs. Ellis stands as an exponent of what is distinctively Southern.

Prof. William Herbert Hobbs is a native of Massachusetts, where he graduated, in 1883, from the Worcester Polytechnic Institute. After a period of graduate study at the Johns Hopkins University, he held the Fellowship in Geology for one year, and was granted the degree of Ph.D. in 1888. Has studied also at Harvard, and at Heidelberg. Since 1889 has been connected with the University of Wisconsin, where he occupies the chair of Mineralogy and Petrology. Prof. Hobbs is the author of a number of scientific papers. At different times has been the Editor, for Mineralogy, of "The American Naturalist," and, as Secretary of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, the Editor of its "Transactions." Has also edited two volumes of "The Science Series of the Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin."

Mr. Gustav Kobbé was born in New York in 1857. Was graduated from Columbia College in 1877, and from the Columbia Law School in 1879. Studied music under the late Joseph Mosenthal. Is a musical and dramatic critic, is author of "Wagner's Life and Works," and a frequent contributor to the magazines.

Prince Petr Alexeievitch Kropotkin was born in December, 1842. Attended St. Petersburg University from 1869 to 1873. Received gold medal of Russian Geographical Society for journey across North Manchuria in 1864. Explored glacial deposits in Finland and Sweden in 1871. Joined International Workingmen's Associ-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ation in 1872; arrested and confined in fortress St. Peter and St. Paul, 1874; escaped from military hospital, 1876; went to England; founded the anarchist paper "Le Révolté"; expelled from Switzerland, 1881; condemned at Lyons to five years' imprisonment, 1883; liberated in 1886. Is the author of numerous publications.

MR. WILBUR LARREMORE was born in New York City in 1855. Graduated from the College of the City of New York and from the Law School of Columbia University. Is a practising lawyer devoting much time to the trial of cases as Referee. Since 1890 has been Editor of the "New York Law Journal," the official legal paper of New York city. Has contributed articles to the "Harvard Law Review" and other legal periodicals, as well as verse and essays to the magazines.

MR. JOHN MARTIN was born in Lincoln, England, in 1864. After graduating at a Teachers' Training College in London, entered the University and took the degree of Bachelor of Science. Served for six years on the Executive Board of the Fabian Society. During the same period sat on the Hackney Borough Council, a body which administers the local affairs of 220,000 persons in that section of London. Mr. Martin came to the United States on a tour of lecturing and investigation, in the autumn of 1898. The next year became Secretary of the League for Political Education, New York. Has taken up his residence in New York, where he is actively interested in the initiation of such a municipal policy as he has seen developing, with remarkable success, in London.

PROF. WILLIAM S. SCARBOROUGH, born in Macon, Georgia, in 1852, received his early education in private and public schools of that city; entering Atlanta University in 1869, and Oberlin College in 1871. Graduated in 1875 from the classical department, with the degree of A.B., and received the honorary degree of A.M. in 1879. Has also received the honorary degrees of LL.D. and Ph.D. Was called, in 1877, to Wilberforce University, Xenia, Ohio, to take the chair of Latin and Greek, which he filled until 1891, when he was transferred to Payne Theological Seminary at the same place, to fill the chair of New Testament Greek and Literature. In 1897 again took the former chair and was made Vice-President of Wilberforce University, which position he now holds. Prof. Scarborough is the author of many essays on classical subjects, of "First Lessons in Greek," the only Greek book ever written by a negro, and of numerous works relative to the Negro Question.

MR. ALBERT WATKINS was born in Worcester, England, in 1848, and removed to Wisconsin the following year. Graduated from the University of Wisconsin in both the academic and the law department. Subsequently became interested in, and editor of, the Mineral Point, Wis., "Democrat," the Sioux City, Iowa, "Tribune," and the "Daily State Democrat," of Lincoln, Neb. Was always a strong advocate of "sound money." Was postmaster of Lincoln from 1885 to 1891. Opposed Mr. Bryan on the silver question as early as 1892, and quit the Democratic party in 1896, on that issue. Was a delegate to the Indianapolis Convention of 1896; acting as a member of the sub-committee on platform, and taking an active part in drafting resolutions.

MR. EARLEY VERNON WILCOX was born in Jamestown, N. Y., in 1869. Finished the high-school course at Jamestown. Received the degree of A.B. at Otterbein College, Ohio, in 1890, and three degrees from Harvard — A.B., 1892, A.M., 1894, and Ph.D., 1895. Was Assistant Entomologist for one year at the Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, and Professor of Biology for three years at the Montana Experiment Station. Was detailed in 1900 by the Department of Agriculture to investigate the poisonous plants of Montana. Is at present Associate Editor of the "Experiment Station Record."

MR. MARRION WILCOX was born in Georgia in 1858. Was educated at Yale University, graduating thence in 1878. Is an LL.B. of Hamilton College, and has been admitted to the New York Bar. Has studied history abroad, and was an instructor at Yale University. Since 1893 has been writer and editor in New York city. Is the author of "A Short History of the War with Spain," and of a "History of the War in the Philippines."

PROF. THEODORE S. WOOLSEY was graduated from Yale in 1872. In 1879 was appointed Professor of International Law in Yale Law School. Has edited Pomeroy's and Woolsey's treatises upon International Law.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED